Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-95-149 *3 August 1995*

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Zagreb, RSK Delegates Depart for Geneva Talks

AU0208164995 Paris AFP in English 1610 GMT 2 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Belgrade, Aug 2 (AFP)—Croatian Serb delegates left Belgrade for Geneva Wednesday [2 August] on the eve of crucial talks aimed at preventing a dormant war in Croatia from reigniting, Serb officials said here.

The high-level delegation from the separatist Republic of Serb Krajina flew out of Belgrade bound for Thursday's UN-brokered talks designed to relaunch the peace process in Croatia even as the country teetered on the brink of all-out war.

The delegation was led by General Mile Novakovic, and also included Krajina "foreign minister" Milivoj Vojnovic, presidential aide Ilija Prijic and "parliament" deputy Lazar Macura, who also heads up the self-styled parliament's foreign affairs commission, the Krajina Serb office in Belgrade said.

The Croatian Government meanwhile detailed Wednesday its delegation to the talks, with Deputy Ivic Pasalic, General Petar Stipetic [assistant chief of the General Staff of the Croatian Army], presidential aide Vesna Skare and Deputy Foreign Minister Smiljan Rebljic due to attend.

The government in Zagreb and Krajina authorities agreed Tuesday to meet for talks in Geneva, over which UN mediator Thorvald Stoltenberg will preside.

UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi said the timing of the Geneva meeting was crucial, particularly given Zagreb's apparent battle preparations and a series of attacks by Krajina Serbs on Croatian targets in recent days.

"It's good that talks are going to start tomorrow," Akashi said Wednesday in the Croatian capital.

Zagreb, in its bid to wrest back the 17 percent of Croatia currently held by Krajina Serbs, is likely to stress its military superiority and recent territorial gains around the separatist region. [passage omitted]

Granic Explains Croatian Stand

LD0308102995 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 3 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Mate Granic, Croatia's deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, received Gavin Hewitt, the British ambassador to the Republic of Croatia, at the latter's request.

The British ambassador said he understands Croatia's concern for the fate of the entire protected area of Bihac. Calling for restraint and reason when carrying out actions, Ambassador Hewitt promised that a resolute message will also be sent to the leadership of the Croatian Serbs and that NATO will take effective measures to protect Bihac. Negotiations in Geneva are opening up yet another possibility for a peaceful resolution of the Croatian internal issue—the reintegration of occupied areas of Croatia, the British ambassador stressed.

Thanking the ambassador for the message, Minister Granic said that right from the outset of the crisis the Republic of Croatia has consistently pursued the policy of negotiations and peaceful reintegration, but that the situation dramatically deteriorated and is continuing to deteriorate due to the arrival of fresh formations of the so-called Yugoslav army in eastern Slavonia. It is also extremely worrying to see the transfer of generals of the so-called Yugoslav army to the occupied territories of Croatia, such as Slobodan Tarbuk who was transferred from the Yugoslav army garrison in Valjevo to Kordun, or General Kelecevic who was transferred from Yugoslavia to Knin.

Speaking about the increase in military tensions, the Croatian foreign minister warned of the increasingly frequent shelling of the Croatian towns of Gospic, Otocac, Karlovac, and the open threats being issued by General Mrksic that other towns in Croatia will also come under attack. The coordinated operations by Croatian Serb irregular formations and by Karadzic's forces, not only around Bihac, are particularly disturbing.

Minister Granic particularly warned of the inadmissibility of Serb aircraft taking off from Udbine airfield to carry out assault actions against areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Minister Granic said that on the basis of the Washington agreements, particularly the Split declaration, Croatia has legitimately provided assistance to the federation and to the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the defense against aggression, and Croatia is the only country that together with them [the federation and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina] effectively opposed the joint enemy which poses a threat to security in both states.

The situation around Bihac is rapidly worsening, Minister Granic said noting that the area has been exposed to continuous attacks, has been completely isolated, and that not a single humanitarian convoy has reached this so-called protected area for weeks, because of which the population is literally threatened with starvation. Nothing has come out of the promises that the Knin leadership made to [UN representative] Yasushi Akashi: 300 Serb rebels temporarily withdraw across the border but then another 900 troops cross the Croatian-Bosnian border to continue attacking the Bihac area.

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The Republic of Croatia will again attempt to find a peaceful solution in the Geneva negotiations, but we are not ready to let the Croatian Serb leadership abuse the course of the negotiations in order to buy time. Croatia welcomes the latest NATO decision regarding the effective protection of Bihac and all other protected areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Mate Granic said in conclusion.

Talks Begin

AU0308084595 Paris AFP in English
0822 GMT 3 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Geneva, Aug 3 (AFP)—The Croatian government and secessionist Serb forces started a crucial round of peace talks Thursday [3 August] near Geneva, which United Nations officials hoped would avert an explosion of war outside Bosnia.

The meeting organized by UN mediator Thorvald Stoltenberg started at 10 a.m. (0800 GMT) at a villa just outside the Swiss lakeside city.

Back in the Balkans, the two sides are poised for battle. The Croatian government wants back the 17 percent of its territory captured by Serbs in the Krajina region in 1991, and is expected to take a hard line.

The Krajina Serbs have been provoking Croatian forces with a series of niggling attacks over the last few days, but the Croatians had said they were waiting for the outcome of the talks before deciding on a military response. [passage omitted]

Each delegation to the talks has four representatives including one general. The Serb side includes the self-proclaimed foreign minister and an advisor to the self-styled president. The Croatians have a deputy foreign minister and an advisor to President Franjo Tudjman. [passage omitted]

Akashi Not Hopeful

AU0308075495 Paris AFP in English
0738 GMT 3 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 3 (AFP)—Talks in Geneva between the Croatian government and secessionist Serbs in their Krajina region are the only hope for peace, the UN special envoy to the former Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi said Thursday.

"I am not terribly hopeful," Akashi said of the outcome of the talks, which he called "almost the only hope for dialogue and negotiation."

"The only alternative to dialogue and negotiation is war," he said.

He said he expected Zagreb—which wants the return of 17 percent of its territory seized by Krajina Serbs in 1991—to adopt a hard line.

"I hope the spirit of mutual compromise and flexibility will prevail, but there is no guarantee," Akashi said.

Croatia has virtually completed its troop deployment to the confrontational border with secessionist forces. A UN spokesman estimated the force at 100,000 men out of 125,000 in the regular Croatian army.

Akashi said the Krajina Serb leadership was "also ready to defend what it considers to be its own territory."

The Geneva discussions were at the invitation of mediator Thorvald Stoltenberg.

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PD Leadership Changes Regarded as 'Purges'

AU0108150795 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 1 Aug 95 p 3

[Article by Emin Barci: "The Democratic Party Purges the Grass Roots, but not Headquarters"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Democratic Party [PD] and Berisha are seriously preparing themselves for the elections in the spring of 1996. New personalities are emerging at almost all the PD conferences and aktivs in the districts, supplanting existing figures on the local political stage. In Durres, PD Chairman Edmir Kapedani has been replaced by Ferdinand Xhaferri. Adhurim Musaraj has assumed the PD leadership in Vlore. In Fier, Belul Cela has taken the place of Ferdinand Agalliu. In Librazhd, Hasan Ballgjini has been replaced by Naim Sinani, etc. "The 1996 electoral campaign will be one of the most bitter and the toughest," PD deputy Ylli Vejsiu said at the Durres conference. In fact, with the help of these changes, the PD is trying to improve somewhat its poor image during the last three years and to cement its internal unity.

The greatest test for the PD and for the parliamentary elections came in November last year with the referendum on the constitution. This referendum showed the PD that its errors could cost its power, something no party would want. One of the first attempts to repair the PD's image began immediately after the 6 November referendum and came to an end in January this year, during which some elements in the PD senior leadership, headed by former chairman Selami, sought to change the way in which the country is governed. This proposed reform suggested associating the post of prime minister with that of party chairman, but a condition behind it was that President Berisha would, for his part, respect his duty as president and dissociate himself from the management of the party. However, the president showed that losing the referendum had not sapped his strength. He overruled the group of PD deputies, retaining in the Meksi cabinet ministers whom the deputies no longer desired.

After January, Selami realized that the only way that the PD could save itself from a debacle called "Berisha" would be to approve a constitution that would oblige the president, by law, to sit tight in his chair of office. We know the end of this adventure of Selami's. However, the reform in the PD today is not being carried out simply for the sake of Selami and it is not only the Selami-ites who are being removed from the management of the PD in the districts. These successive replacements are also removing the corrupt, former spies of the State Security Service, those unpopular in the districts, those disloyal to headquarters, etc. It cannot fail to create a gulf between the discredited central leadership and local party officers. Faced with a central leadership that includes plenty of the incompetent and the corrupt, former Sigurimi agents, etc., the clean local chairmen will have the right, as soon as they have settled in and strengthened their positions, to call to account the PD Presidium. There are no signs of Berisha planning to start purges at headquarters; otherwise he would have to start with himself.

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Klaus on German Relations, Treason, Elections

LD0208202195 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1615 GMT 2 Aug 95

[Interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Lucie Weissova in Prague on 1 August — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Weissova] What do you think of the parliament's verdict, which stripped Deputy Vik of immunity?

[Klaus] Well, the parliament decided it. I think it is a legitimate decision. I have nothing fundamental against the decision. However, I do object to the atmosphere around the whole thing and I think that this group of people is given undeserved support. [passage omitted]

[Weissova] The deputies did not discuss the case of false leaflets much, but they started a debate on Czech-German relations. There were even some saying that if the government had solved the problems in the relations the case of Jan Vik would never have happened. What can you say about that?

[Klaus] I can only smile. I think that the government hopes for a solution to those problems. It is not so easy. In order to solve something you need two sides. I think everybody knows it well — the example being the complicated Czech-Slovak talks. What is involved is not a dictate of one side, or willingness or unwillingness of our government to take part in something like that. But in this case, too, we do not have much room to maneuver. My views on it are more or less clear. I think it is a problem that has been artificially inflamed. The more we talk about it, the less solvable it will be because words might be said on all sides that would be difficult to unsay, and then a solution somewhere in the middle would not be possible. A solution would be much easier before that. I am somewhat apprehensive to use the word, solution, because a solution means that somebody does something, while I think that there is no need to do anything. One should look forward, admitting that the past is the past, that it happened, that it cannot be changed. I prefer not to use the word: solution.

[Weissova] You are saying that we should look forward in Czech-German relations. A case has developed during this summer where we are looking back. Some people may be prosecuted for high treason. They helped the occupation powers in 1968. What is your view? Is it a useless return to a distant past, senseless persecution of several old people who should be left alone to die in peace, or is it a moral signal that is necessary for this society — namely that such act cannot remain unpunished?

[Klaus] Firstly I would not say that it is the distant past. I think many of us remember very well the year 1968 and the invasion by the Warsaw Treaty armies of our country. It is practically the recent past.

The issue of high treason should be addressed. Considerations such as whether it was committed ten or twenty years ago should not be entertained. Nothing of this sort should happen again. I think every new generation will have to know that this is something that must not be committed and that must be appropriately punished.

Another matter will be the findings produced by possible inquiries and investigations into whether this is really something we should label as high treason and whether it was actually committed.

There can be no doubt that these people have done things that we found highly and unimaginably despicable, both in ethical and other senses. However, I do not intend to interfere with criminal proceedings and with the question as to whether high treason was actually committed or not.

[Weissova] And the last question. Elections are still a long time off, but some parties — for example the Republicans — have already started their pre-election campaign. I think that the vision of these approaching parliamentary elections will dramatize the events in our politics. What can we expect in your view? A decent pre-election struggle, based on arguments or slanders, accusations, and scandals?

[Klaus] Unfortunately, I am expecting, particularly from the organizations of the opposition, that matters will not be altogether well-intentioned, that there will be slanders and scandals. I can see signs of this around me all the time and I am very sorry to see that.

Although I have just returned from vacation, naturally you get a few newspaper clippings, and you do not know whether to wire to Prague asking for a denial to be issued straightaway that says that nothing of it is based on the truth or whether you are to wave your hand and say that people will understand it in their own way anyway.

Well, I have these feelings and I think that it is quite clear that these matters will accumulate as the elections come closer. I hope we have grown up. After all, almost six years have passed since November 1989. The elections will take place six and a half years after November 1989, and I think the elections will be a certain test of democracy, a test of our maturity — and I am certainly optimistic in this direction. [passage omitted]

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New Border Crossing to Poland at Bukovec

AU0208160595 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 31 Jul 95 p 2

[CTK report: "New Border Crossing to Poland"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Frydek-Mistek — A new border crossing between the Czech Republic and Poland has been opened in Bukovec (Frydek-Mistek district). It is designated for travel by citizens of all states but will not carry out customs processing of commercial goods, and the transit of vehicles is limited by the weight of 3.5 metric tons. Bukovec is the easternmost crossing on the border between the Czech Republic and Poland.

Visitors Required To Carry Minimal Sum

AU0208155895 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 1 Aug 95 p 2

[Report by "on": "As of 1 September, Foreigners Will Have To Demonstrate Possession of a Certain Sum of Money"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Prague — Beginning on 1 September, foreigners arriving in the Czech Republic will be obliged to demonstrate at the point of entry that they possess the equivalent of at least 7,000 korunas, Sarka Kordova from the Legislation Department at the Interior Ministry informed LIDOVE NOVINY. According to Kordova, this obligation is defined in the Ministry Bulletin dated 16 June.

She said that the bulletin sets out the requirement to prove the possession of this amount in Czech or freely convertible currency for all foreigners without any exceptions, i.e., it will also apply to Slovak citizens. [passage omitted]

The Czech Interior Ministry Bulletin states that when entering the Czech Republic, adult foreigners will have to show that they have at least 7,000 korunas and children under 15 years of age at least 3,500 korunas. If a foreigner produces documents confirming that he has access to this amount, he does not have to be in actual possession of the cash. The same applies to those who are coming to the Czech Republic on the basis of an invitation. If a foreigner does not satisfy any of these conditions, he will be refused entry and returned from the border checkpoint to the country from which he arrived.

CSSD Chairman on Party's 'Growth in Popularity'

AU0208120195 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 31 Jul 95 p 3

[Interview with CSSD Chairman Milos Zeman by Martin Manak; place and date not given: "Zeman: At Times, the Prime Minister Lies"]

[FBIS Translated Text] By the fall, the social democracy intends to catch up with the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] in the surveys of voter support. Therefore, we asked Milos Zeman, chairman of the Czech Social Democratic Party [CSSD], for an interview.

[Manak] How do you think this will happen? Will the support for the CSSD grow, or the support for the ODS decline?

[Zeman] These two processes are symmetrical. Approximately two and a half years ago, the ODS commanded a stable 36 percent support, i.e., almost 10 percent more than it has today. Nevertheless, I consider the growth in popularity of our party to be the main factor. The resource of small-opposition-party voters is still there for us, although its significance is gradually declining.

Another rising important source for us is the approximately 20 percent of undecided voters, including the potential non-voters. We will explain to these people — who absurdly believe that they can punish the present government by their not showing up at the elections — that on the contrary, they would in this way help the government parties.

[Manak] ODS Chairman Vaclav Klaus said that the growth of support for the CSSD is not given by an improvement of its image....

[Zeman] At times, the prime minister errs, and at times he lies. If he now claims that we have not submitted any counter-proposals during the social bills debate, I must observe that, in total, we have submitted 36 of them. Unfortunately, only two were accepted. He also lied when — at least as RUDE PRAVO reports — he claimed that Milos Zeman put him on the election slate in northern Moravia in 1990. I have never been a member of the Civic Forum executive to decide on the placement of candidates.

[Manak] Will you make an attempt to steer your policy towards more centrist waters with the objective in mind of attracting some voters of the ODS, for instance?

[Zeman] The centrist voter today is, above all, an undecided voter. He hesitates between the two traditional alternatives: the social democratic and the conservative. The so-called centrist parties — the Bohemian and Moravian Center Union or the Free Democrats — failed

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miserably in this country. I myself consider the notions of left wing and right wing outdated and confusing. I believe everyone should state the order of his values. As opposed to the ODS, we do not consider the environment to be the icing on the cake; we want to segregate dirty money; and while for the ODS, banking is the most important profession, for us it is teaching.

[The same issue of Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 31 July on page 3 carries a report on a meeting of Free Democrats, who warn against the clash between Zeman and Klaus: "According to the members of the Presidium, the Free Democrats are voicing their concern over the polarization of the czech political scene, on which, according to them, sooner or later a clash must occur between Zeman and Klaus. The Free Democrats miss a balancing element in the form of a political center, which they advocate."]

Police Cracking Down on Illegal Software

95CH0306C Prague PRAGUE POST in English 4 Jul 95 p 5

[Article by Robin Burton: "Police and Business Collaborate In Crackdown on Illegal Software"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Czech police and the Business Software Alliance (BSA), an industry group that fights software piracy, announced on June 22 the results of two recent raids of companies suspected of using illegally copied software.

At the same time, police also announced that the country's first-ever criminal charges for using illegal software were filed in March against Prague-based Dialog Agro, itself a software and computer hardware developer.

Zbynek Loebl, legal counsel for the Czech and Slovak branch of the BSA, said that when Dialog was raided in March 1994, "investigators found illegal software from virtually all of the BSA member companies," making such companies as Microsoft, Lotus and Novell victims of the alleged piracy.

Acting on tips, Czech police last month raided the insurance company Hasicska vzajemna pojistovna and a light-machinery manufacturer, Liftec-Global, finding dozens of computers with software having the same serial number, an indication of illegal duplication. Police say the companies were unable to produce licenses for the software.

"The evidence is very black-and-white: If you have a software copy and you don't have a license, it's illegal," said Robin Burton, director of European public affairs at the BSA.

Loebl also said he expects the police to file charges for using illegal software against Czech aircraft company Letov "in a matter of days." Letov was raided in October 1994.

Attempts to contact officials from the targeted companies were unsuccessful.

"The rate of illegal software use [by businesses] in the Czech Republic is unacceptably high at 83 percent ... still far above the European average of 58 percent," Burton said. The rate of illegal use in the United States is comparatively low at 35 percent.

Earlier this year, the Czech Police Presidium formed a special task force to investigate allegations of illegal software use.

Such investigations aren't easy. Burton said the BSA relies primarily on anonymous tips called in to its hot lines. After receiving a tip, the alliance makes follow-up calls to people within the company and tries to persuade them to sign affidavits. It then turns over the evidence to local police.

"The program here is embryonic," Burton said. Letov was the first company raided "and the first charges are only now being pressed."

Enforcement of software piracy laws around the world are so new that the BSA isn't even sure what penalties violators could face. It knows of two cases in Finland where company officials received jail terms for using pirated software.

The BSA encourages local software makers to join the fight against piracy. Thus far, 11 Czech and Slovak companies, including Software 602—one of the largest Czech firms—are members of the BSA. Software from both companies was found in the raids.

One Czech company that's not a member is Alwil Software, which makes anti-virus programs. Alwil executive Pavel Baudis said piracy is not a big problem for his company because his products include frequent software upgrades and ongoing customer support, which is not available to unlicensed users.

He admitted, however, that he's learned of several organizations that have bought one copy of Alwil's software and then duplicated it widely. "We try to talk to them nicely and convince them to get legal," Baudis said. "But it's difficult, especially since some of them are government institutions."

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Czech Exporters Eager To Join European Union

95CH0306B Prague PRAGUE POST in English 4 Jul 95 p 5

[Article by "J.J.": "European Union Offers Help to Czech Exporters"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Although the Czech government may have no export support mechanisms of its own, the European Union's PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] program, along with a consortium of Czech and U.K. companies, will soon be offering expert export marketing and finance training to 150 Czech companies.

The Institute of the Confederation of Czech Industry (ISP) is administering the program, and, with three Czech management training institutes, will provide classroom training and eventually in-house consulting.

The consortium examined 31 exporting companies to help tailor the program. Only 21 percent of the companies assessed their export capabilities as good or excellent. More than two-thirds reported that their management was less than excellent and unable to make the company truly competitive.

ISP reports that many exporters are still competing on price, and aren't prepared to begin competing on quality, service, terms of financing and delivery. Many companies seem still to be production-driven rather than market-driven, according to the ISP.

ISP's program, using one million ECU (35 million Kc) from PHARE, will concentrate on marketing, market research, export costing and pricing, trade-fair participation and distribution. Two sections of the program will also focus on export financing.

Project manager Helena Opolecka says management workshops for the Czech trainers will begin at the end of June and the first pilot course will begin in September.

Trainers from the U.K. companies will run the sessions with the Czech trainers; once their training is finished—after about a year and a half—the British teachers will return home and the Czechs will take over.

"In this way," Opolecka says, "we would like to train a corps of trainers we could then use for other projects as well."

Growing Trade Deficit Causing Concern

95CH0306A Prague PRAGUE POST in English 4 Jul 95 p 5

[Article by Julie Jette: "Trade Deficit and Official Inaction Vex Business"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Company directors, business groups and government officials have differing views about how to deal with the growing Czech trade deficit, which reached 31 billion Kc ($1.2 billion) in the first quarter of this year. Some call for greater government involvement; others feel industry should do more on its own.

Some feel the widening gap is hurting economic growth and Czech competitiveness abroad—and that the country missed several opportunities to become a European or world trading partner.

But are these factors inevitable growing pains of the emerging market economy and nascent assimilation into a global economy?

The trade deficit "says a great deal about importing," rather than exporting, says Pavol Parizek, general manager of the Export Guarantee and Insurance Corporation. He says exports grew by 20 percent in 1993, and he doesn't judge the current four percent growth rate to be too dismal.

"I wouldn't call it a dramatic development, but of course there's room to improve."

The Czech trade deficit has been growing wider for the past three quarters (see chart). [chart not reproduced] To the chagrin of exporters, government assistance in narrowing the gap between Czech imports and exports seems unlikely.

"The deficit is alarming and unexpected," says Petr Pomezny, director of foreign economic relations for the Ministry of Economy. Especially puzzling is that the growth of the chasm coincided with the beginning of a period of industrial growth.

But, Pomezny adds, "As long as we are in the transition period, it's very difficult to judge the exact meaning of the indicators."

Ivan Hejtmanek, director of Koospol International, an agriculture and food-trading company, says the deficit reflects "expected problems."

"The government is not supporting Czech exports, especially to faraway countries."

Hejtmanek says he would like to see the same kind of government export support that European Union

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countries provide, especially to food producers. He also argues that some barriers to imports are necessary.

"If we were on the same level as France or Italy, I would say it's OK [to lift the barriers]. But, unfortunately, our economy is not as developed," Hejtmanek says.

The worldwide tendency, however, is to lower trade barriers, not raise them. Such barriers are also against the free-market philosophy of Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus' government. In this environment, it appears companies' best bet is to take advantage of markets that are opening around the world and expand there.

Few feel they can do so without official help. "Companies are not able to look for new markets alone," says Vlasta Safarikova, director of the Institute of the Confederation of Czech Industry. "It's expensive—it's not just like looking out the window."

The Ministry of Industry and Trade agrees, insisting that exporters need more support. This stand makes it the one ministry to step out of line with Klaus' laissez faire attitude toward export and trade.

Tomas Husak, assistant deputy at the ministry's foreign trade division, says, "Our aim is to provide services to our exporters on the level of the European Union, so there will be no discrimination" when Czech companies must compete with those of EU countries, especially on financing terms.

Husak says only 10 percent of Czech trade is conducted with countries outside of Europe—a figure he finds disturbingly low. "It means we are not utilizing the possibilities of other markets.... In Vietnam, we missed the train completely." Because of worker and student exchanges with Vietnam before the fall of communism, he estimates nearly 50,000 Vietnamese spent time living in the former Czechoslovakia. Many speak Czech and would have made a ready market for Czech products, Husak says. Now other countries' companies are fiercely competing for a market share in that expanding Southeast Asian economy.

To improve exporting, a ministry-run information center is already operating, providing exporters or potential exporters with general information on a target country or market. It can also, upon request and for a fee, prepare case studies on industries. Husak says he would like to see these activities expanded to provide actual contacts and detailed, timely analyses of markets at exporters' requests. Eventually, he says, he would like the ministry to target and nurture new Czech exporters.

"Our embassies abroad should be more involved in export promotions," by both providing information to potential exporters and pushing Czech products, Husak adds.

Koospol's Hejtmanek says this kind of information is essential. Companies need to know about tenders and export requirements—including product testing.

"Based on this information, they have to decide whether to go into a market or not."

Zdenek Somr, president of the Czech Economic Chamber, has said that the government is the only organization that can provide such detailed information.

But not all the blame can be laid on the government, says Safarikova. She says the country's initially promising export market in 1992 was fueled by an undervalued Czechoslovak crown and cheap production costs. Those costs are rising today, as is the value of the Czech crown, and companies aren's prepared to compete on other fronts, she says.

After working for many companies as a consultant or adviser, she's found that many managers and CEOs are fiercely resistant to changes they must make to compete under market conditions.

"[Directors] are really only considering the day-to-day problems, and at most the yearly result," she says. "If you ask a manager, 'What would you like your company to be in five years' time?' he has no idea."

Safarikova adds that with crown convertibility looming, exporters will have more opportunities for success—and failure—on world markets.

Austria Said Discriminating Against Czech Firms

AU0108120795 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Jul 95 p 8

[Article by Petr Korbel: "Austria Probably Discriminates Against Firms From the Czech Republic"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Approximately 3,000 enterprises with direct Austrian participation currently operate in the Czech Republic. There are, however, only 12 firms with Czech participation in Austria. Apparently it is caused by neither lesser interest nor lesser economic strength. The procedure for permitting Czech firms to operate in Austria is very complex. According to some businessmen, it could be described as discrimination.

Of course on 1 January Austria joined the European Union (EU), and this means that it was to assume all the obligations regarding the relationship between the EU and the Czech Republic in effect at the time of Austria's joining the EU. This applies in particular to the promise that the country will "provide for business activities of Czech companies and citizens conditions that are no

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worse than those of its own companies and citizens." Czech businessmen believe, however, that, in fact, the complex Austrian administrative system continues to be used to deliberately impair the activities of the Czech firms in Austria.

Austrian authorities claim that the central offices do not hinder the establishment of Czech firms. The decisions are made at the level of provinces. According to the Ministry of the Economy, the provinces have their own very strict regulations. Allegedly, even an Austrian businessman must wait two to three years for the license.

According to Czech business sources however, this claim is not completely correct. There have even been refusals, which the responsible authority justified stating that the existence of a branch of the Czech enterprise is not in the interest of that province. After all, businessmen from other countries that are not members of the EU or the European Free Trade Association have encountered similar difficulties. It may have to do with the fact that recently, the inflow of foreign capital to Austria increased far too much.

According to RUDE PRAVO sources, representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Industry and Trade of the Czech Republic discussed this issue with Austrian officials. The problem is even more pressing as the operation of branches of the Austrian firms in the Czech Republic leads to constantly growing imports from Austria, which is not offset by Czech exports. The trade deficit with Austria increased sharply this year. The deficit exceeded 3 billion korunas over the first five months of the year. Czech imports from Austria rose by more than 20 percent, while exports declined by almost 10 percent.

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Kovac Censures Remarks by Ethnic Hungarians

LD0208165295 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1300 GMT 2 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The pronouncements made by the representatives of Hungarian parties represented in the National Council about their visit to the United States could seriously damage our relations with the United States of America. This is what President Michal Kovac said in a statement granted to the News Agency of the Slovak Republic today..

Proof of this can also be found in the rapid and unambiguous reaction in the form of a denial issued by the U.S. Embassy to Slovakia and by the U.S. State Department.

Kovac Resignation Sought

AU0208165695 Bratislava SME in Slovak 1 Aug 95 p 2

[CTK report: "The HZDS Recommends President Michal Kovac 'Finally' Resign"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava — "President Michal Kovac has proven by his conduct that he is incapable of executing the presidential office in a non-partisan manner and in the interest of the development of Slovakia," reads an HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia] statement yesterday. At the same time, the movement appeals to him in the interest of maintaining stability "finally to resign." The repeated appeal by the HZDS to the head of state to resign is a reaction to the rejection by the president of three of the four amendments to the privatization laws, by means of which the government coalition stopped the coupon privatization, imposed state influence on the capital market, and prevented privatization of lucrative enterprises. At the same time, the HZDS has protested over statements made by Egyutteles Chairman Duray at a demonstration in Debrecen, Hungary, last Thursday [27 July]. "Duray's comments can only be described as utilitarian slander and a deliberate defamation of Slovakia before the world," the HZDS claims.

Schenk Views Policy Initiatives, Bucharest Talks

AU0308112795 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 1 Aug 95 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Slovak Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk "prepared by" Juraj Alner in Bratislava; date not given: "Schenk: In No Way Is It an Anti—Hungarian Conspiracy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava — Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar gave a briefing in Bucharest on the Slovak project to expand the Central European Free Trade Association, CEFTA, to include other Central and East European states. Slovakia has revived the debate on this topic, a debate that was current a few years ago. According to Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk, "the time is ripe for this step. Work has been under way for some time on Slovenia's becoming a CEFTA member. This is possible before the beginning of next year. We feel that other states are also ready. A large 160 million-strong market would stretch from the Baltic states to the Balkans."

[NARODNA OBRODA] You also alluded to Ukraine and the former Yugoslav states.

[Schenk] They would come in gradually, as conditions are created for this. Ukraine cannot be a full-fledged member, but an observer. The former Yugoslav states can be considered when the conflict is over.

[NARODNA OBRODA] A second initiative is cooperation involving the EU associated states.

[Schenk] They should coordinate their economic and other activities better and harmonize their points of view. The EU is not the only integrative mechanism. Expanding the EU must not lead to a new division of Europe — even along the lines of who will be a member and who not, or who will get in first and who later. It is necessary to supplement the basic integrative mechanism with others that will enable the individual states, in mutual cooperation, more effectively to come closer to the level required for incorporation into the EU.

[NARODNA OBRODA] If we expand the Visegrad Four in practice, a grouping will emerge that is too big to be admitted into the EU all at once. It could happen that three Visegrad states will get into the first round. According to some indications from various sources, Slovakia is not necessarily among them, but its turn will come in the second round, let us say, along with Romania and Bulgaria.

[Schenk] Such cooperation cannot prevent individual entry into the EU. It is not an alternative mechanism. The issue of entry is associated with individual bargaining. A great deal will depend on how the EU manages to cope with its internal transformation. I am afraid this will be a difficult and painful process. I believe the EU states will soon understand that the mechanism we are talking about will also help advance the other countries and wipe out the political, economic, and moral differences that stem from the fact that some states did not get into the Visegrad Four. They are asking: "Why the Visegrad Four and not us?"

[NARODNA OBRODA] A very great deal was said about Hungary in Bucharest. Romanian Prime Minister

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Nicolae Vacaroiu also referred to "interlinking Romanian, Slovak, and Serbian ethnic policy."

[Schenk] I would like to reject very adamantly the notion of any kind of coordination on this subject. Nor is there close cooperation involving Romanian and Slovak minority policy. We are sovereign states; neither of us exerts pressure on the other to proceed in a certain manner. We put forward the view that the essence of the Slovak-Hungarian treaty is not a guideline for the Romanian side. A treaty is worthwhile only if the two partners are satisfied with it. Otherwise, it is questionable.

[NARODNA OBRODA] How, then, do you explain Vacaroiu's remark?

[Schenk] Only a marginal reference was made to the fact that, apart from contacts at the government level, contacts should also be initiated between citizens and non-government organizations in connection with various topics. The minority issue is just one of many. Serbian or Hungarian entities may also join the minority discussion. That is: In no way is this a kind of "anti-Hungarian conspiracy"!

[NARODNA OBRODA] In Bucharest, we registered the tacit reproach that by incorporating Council of Europe Recommendation No. 1201 into the treaty with Hungary, we have somehow elevated it to a binding text.

[Schenk] We dealt with this issue long ago, in the course of formulating the text of the treaty. There is no misunderstanding with the Romanian Government in this matter. I cannot rule out the possibility that such a feeling may linger among the less informed, more radically inclined part of the Romanian public and press. We devoted a great deal of attention to this issue at our meetings with Foreign Minister Melescanu and Prime Minister Vacariou. We explained our interpretation in connection with individual rights, domestic legislation, and other safety features contained in the treaty. We rejected absolutely any attempts to use the treaty as a model for the future Romanian-Hungarian treaty. On the contrary: Romania has to pursue its own interests and adapt them to its treaty. Our Romanian partners confirmed that, in this context, they harbored no other sentiment concerning us.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Another subject of the talks concerned the introduction of alternative education in Slovakia — apropos of which Minister Slavkovska said in Budapest that, due to insufficient interest, it will not be introduced this year — and the signing of the education law in Romania, which institutes a system similar to the Slovak concept for alternative education in all schools.

[Schenk] It was interesting for us to hear what new things the Romanian education law will bring. It is important that there are minority schools in both Romania and Slovakia. They assured us that nothing in the law contradicts European norms. The aim there is the same as here: To improve the linguistic and cultural preparation of pupils attending Hungarian schools in the country of which they are citizens. History, geography, and maybe other subjects will be taught in the state language. Among other things, pupils will have to pass entrance examinations in Romanian to enter a higher grade of school.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Our Slovak compatriots in Romania, whom this law also affects, were not too enthusiastic.

[Schenk] I adopted a position on this similar to the one we have at home: Knowledge of the state language is an absolutely essential basic requirement for integration and self-realization in the state of which they are citizens.

On EU Integration Plans

AU0208125595 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 31 Jul 95 pp 1, 14

[Interview with Slovak Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk by Jan Skoda; place and date not given: "Preventing a New Division"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At his talks with his Romanian partners in Bucharest, Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar submitted officially for the first time a Slovak proposal to hold a conference involving the associated members of the EU aimed at coordinating their joint strategy for their affiliation to the Union. We talked about this initiative and other issues with Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk.

[Skoda] Following the bilateral talks, Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu assessed positively the whole series of planned projects that should be implemented at various levels. Which of them concern your department?

[Schenk] Prime Minister Meciar put forward several general projects that will have a relatively major impact and will extend beyond the level of bilateral Slovak-Romanian relations. These projects involve expanding the Central European Free Trade Association, CEFTA, and, later, closer cooperation among the EU associated countries. This could have a strong and positive influence on the entire course of the integrative processes in the Central and East European region. It could help to

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create a large 165 million-strong market and facilitate the EU integration process in that a complementary — and not competitive — integrative mechanism will be sought.

[Skoda] Are we to understand that the Slovak side is trying to ensure that the associated countries enter into the EU together as a unit and, therefore, that certain countries — such as, for example, the Czech Republic or Poland — do not, so to speak, "run away" from the others?

[Schenk] This question cannot be put in such a way. As we have said that we will take upon ourselves the matter of planning this conference, we will try to get these states together and agree on the issues that concern us, exchange experiences, and harmonize our course of action. What you asked about definitely cannot be its objective, because this would contradict the principles for integration into the EU — quite simply, because entry into the EU is individual, on the basis of individual negotiations.

Second, as we want to coordinate our activities and exchange experiences, we do not want to hinder the progress of anyone who feels that he is already prepared for integration. That is, this will not involve a fixed institutional framework. We do not want to establish an alternative grouping.

Third, we want to ensure that our coordination helps to advance everyone so that — quite to the contrary — major political, economic, and also moral differences do not begin to evolve between the countries that get into the EU first and those who get there later. Many states — for instance, those that do not belong to the "Visegrad Four" and are not considered to be in the first string — are asking: What have we done to you that you are leaving us aside? We want to find a mechanism that would prevent the formulation of new dividing lines in the process of European integration.

[Skoda] Apart from Romania, did you consult any other country on this proposal?

[Schenk] We consulted unofficially the majority of countries that would be taken into consideration.

[Skoda] Are their reactions positive?

[Schenk] Yes.

[Skoda] Including the Czech side?

[Schenk] The Czech side is not one that we managed to consult directly on these issues. Of course, we will also consult the Czech side on them.

[Skoda] This initiative reminds me a little of an attempt to create an organization like the European Free Trade Association...

[Schenk] So far, this discussion is on the level of basic principles. Therefore, let us not draw any parallels. I think the fundamental decision should be made relatively soon. How far we can get is a matter of time.

[Skoda] Do you intend to plan the conference involving the EU associated countries for this year?

[Schenk] We think the conference could be held sometime in March or April of next year.

SNS 'Outraged' by Statements at Debrecen Rally

AU0208160795 Bratislava SME in Slovak 31 Jul 95 p 2

[TASR report: "The SNS Is Alarmed by the Rally in Debrecen"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava — The Slovak National Party [SNS] is outraged and extremely alarmed by the speeches and pronouncements made at the World Union of Hungarians rally held in Debrecen on Thursday 27 July, because dangerous ideas and demands that threaten calm and peaceful development in our region were presented in them. This statement is made in an SNS Central Council Declaration adopted at its session in Bratislava on Saturday [29 July]. It was made to TASR by SNS Chairman Jan Slota. It also says that the ideology of a single nation, a sole race, and a superior people with superior rights is already well known in Europe, and was associated with fascist brutality during World War II. Today, roughly 50 years later, demands for the unique status of the Hungarian minorities in surrounding states and for the restoration of Greater Hungary are again beginning to be revived in the statements of Hungarian chauvinist politicians.

According to its statement, the SNS sees no reason why a nation that for almost 1,000 years wiped out, deliberately and systematically, the original Slav settlements in the Danubian lowlands should now enjoy any superior rights regarding ethnic minorities. At the end of its statement, the SNS Central Council turns to its own Deputies' Club in the National Council of the Slovak Republic with a request to speed up the debate on the state language law and the amendment to the Penal Code — especially Articles 92 and 108, which contain provisions on treason and the protection of the Republic.

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Public Confidence in Cabinet Decreases Further

AU0208165295 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 1 Aug 95 p 10

[Unattributed report: "Szonda Ipsos Public Opinion Poll for MAGYAR HIRLAP on Government's Year of Activities—Less Confidence Than Ever Before—Lajos Bokros Hitting New Low"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Horn government was exactly one year old at the time the data were collected. The anniversary results are not at all favorable because in July the cabinet's confidence indicators were worse than ever before. After the stagnation of the past few months, the aggregate confidence indicator, calculated as an average of the suitability indicators of ministers, strongly decreased (by 3.6 points) to the current 46 points. Parallel to this, satisfaction with the work of the ministries decreased by a hitherto unprecedented degree (by 3.2 points) and currently stands at 41.9 points.

Every month, commissioned by MAGYAR HIRLAP, the Szonda Ipsos public opinion research company carries out a public opinion poll in which it examines the population's confidence in the government's members, and satisfaction with the ministries and various government activities.

General Deterioration

The Horn government was one year old precisely at the time our data were collected, which offered a natural opportunity for the politicians of various parties and political analysts to make an assessment and evaluate generally and critically the government's activities so far. Public opinion researchers have also joined in with this in their own way, so this time, in addition to presenting the latest results, we will also briefly overview the main findings of public opinion polls in the past year.

The anniversary results are not at all favorable for the government, because in July the cabinet's indicators were worse than ever before. After the stagnation of the past few months, the aggregate confidence index, calculated as the average of the various ministers' suitability indicators, again strongly decreased (by 3.6 points) and now stands at 46 points. Parallel to this, satisfaction with the activities of the ministries also worsened (by 3.2 points) in an unprecedented way with its current value 41.9 points. (As a reminder of the most important events of the past month: After parliament accepted and the president of the republic signed the Bokros package, the Constitutional Court announced that it found some passages unconstitutional.)

The deterioration of the public's assessment of the cabinet is almost uniform because, apart from Gabor Fodor [minister for culture and education], all ministers were affected to varying degrees (although the 1- to 2-percent changes cannot be seen as significant). List leader Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti's, Environmental Minister Ferenc Baja's, and Agricultural Minister Laszlo Lakos's points decreased by most. The change at the head of the Industry and Trade Ministry contributed significantly to the worsening average because the resigning Laszlo Pal was one of the ministers reasonably recognized by the public (his last score was 51 points), while, at the moment, the public is much less convinced about the suitability of his successor, Imre Dunai. It is true, though, that only every fifth respondent was able to form an opinion on the new minister (the same number as on his predecessor when he was new in office); however, before his resignation, Pal was known by two-thirds of those questioned.

The confidence index of Finance Minister Lajos Bokros, who already "enjoys" an extremely negative public assessment, further decreased in July by three points and hit a negative record with his current 21 points. It is also the first time that a minister has scored less than the ministry that he runs.

One Year of Ordeal

After one year of the Horn government, the average confidence index of ministers decreased by more than 20 points (from 67.2 to 46). Therefore, the initial, rather positive public view has now sunk to lower than average. In view of unfulfilled hopes, the population's confidence gradually decreased and much of the government's confidence capital had already vanished before the 12 March announcement of the Bokros package. In the few months following this, while in "big politics," a tough and occasionally bitter fight was going on in connection with the proposals, the public was only standing by and watching. The new and large amount of confidence loss came after the latest decision of the Constitutional Court.

In the whole period, although at somewhat different times, the opinion of all groups of society worsened to more or less the same degree. It is interesting to observe that mostly those people's opinion worsened on the government in the last month who did not consider themselves to be either government or opposition supporters.

Naturally, there are big differences between the various ministers within the average 21-point reduction over the year. The population's opinion worsened on the Finance Ministry's leader by far the most (all together

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48 points), although only half of this was in connection with Bokros, because his predecessor, Laszlo Bekesi had lost the other half. The other two major slides also happened in positions which were affected by personnel changes: The public considers the leader of the welfare and the industry ministries' suitability 29 and 26 points lower than a year ago. People are 27 points less convinced about Fodor's suitability as minister than at the beginning and Prime Minister Gyula Horn himself lost the same amount.

Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs managed to preserve most of his reputation of a year ago, with his confidence index only decreasing by eight points in this period. Compared with the whole cabinet, apart from the foreign minister, Baja, Karoly Lotz (minister for transport, telecommunications, and water affairs], Keleti, and Gabor Kuncze [interior minister] also got away with relatively little loss in the first year.

Compared with the front men, the "faceless" governmental apparatus working in the background was much less exposed to the public's changing views. The fact that, in the first few months, there was much difference between assessments of the ministers and the ministries run by them—to the detriment of the latter—also partly indicates the institutional continuity linked to the former governmental cycle. However, with the passage of time, this gap has gradually become smaller in such a way that views on the ministry leaders' suitability deteriorated to reach the level of the ministries.

Finally, we direct attention to an interesting parallel. Confidence in the cabinet dropped below the 50-point mark in April 1995, precisely when the balance of government and opposition supporting voters tipped in favor of the latter. (The current proportion is 23 to 33.) This also almost coincides with the time when the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] took the lead on the parties' "unpopularity" list from the Independent Smallholders Party [FKgP] (March 1995). At the same time, it is also interesting to observe that the MSZP is still leading the parties' popularity list, although the FKgP has now pushed the smaller government party from second place.

Voting Results of Bokros Program Analyzed

95CH0293 Budapest BESZELO in Hungarian 8 Jun 95 pp 6-8

[Article by Janos Eorsi: "Assessing Bokros"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *On 30 May at 9 PM, representatives cast recorded votes in parliament, whereby they did or did not place dots on the letter "i" in Bokros's stabilization package, depending on the kind of vote they cast. At first sight, the 71 percent majority of the affirmative votes cast in the final round of balloting (231 yeas, 91 nays, three abstentions) indicates that the ruling coalition firmly supports the government's stabilization program. But is this really true? Finding an answer to this question is the purpose of our article, prepared with the help of the record of votes cast.*

The question put bluntly to parliament in the final round of balloting was: Who would accept the proposed law as written and in its entirety, and with it the government? From among the independents, Peter Zwack voted for the package, but Karoly Rab, who had left the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats] earlier, abstained. Quite naturally, the opposition unanimously voted against the government. At the same time, however, not every socialist remained loyal: Pal Kovacs, former minister of public welfare who had resigned his position in March because of the Bokros package, cast a negative vote, (and Bela Katona, former secret service minister, was recorded as "necessarily absent"); from the so-called "national" wing of the MSZP [Hungarian Socialist Party], Ferenc Kosa, Matyas Szuros, and the abstaining Zoltan Daroczy opposed the government that proposed the package; and the names of educational workers' trade union official Mrs. Istvan Szollosi, Education Committee Chairman, Debrecen university professor Istvan Orosz (he abstained), adult educator Albert Alfoldi from Kalocsa, and engineer and economist Janos Veres from Szabolcs conspicuously stood out on the roster of votes cast, as not having cast yea votes. This amounts to six negative votes and two abstentions. Not much to be sure; the numbers appear to be negligible by all means, as compared to the number of negative votes cast on individual provisions of the law.

The imposingly party-like, uniform positions taken by the opposition groups at the 23 May balloting on individual provisions of the law, differs from the colorful, one could say—entropic button pushing—by ruling party representatives, most of whom followed their "own, individual consciences." They did so just as in the days of the Antall-Boross government, except that the party colors have changed. The price to be paid for the election victory was that the winner became consumed wondering how much of the government's responsibility it should assume, while the opposition was able to irresponsibly undercut the government, stoking up the fire wherever possible. Even the Smallholders [Independent Smallholders Party—FKgP] made great advances in acting like a party: Their votes on individual provisions reflected an organized stoking-up tendency. In contrast, many members of the ruling parties, and especially the socialists, found one or another measure to be contrary to their liking, and thereby threatened the passage of the entire package.

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Part And Whole

It could be said that the way a representative relates to one or another provision does not determine his loyalty to the legislative proposal as a whole. Or, as Ivan Vitanyi, Cultural Committee Chairman, MSZP representative said, enforcing party discipline is based on a "bolshevik" outlook. Vitanyi used this adjective to defend his proposal in opposition to a 44 percent social security contribution to be paid from honorariums received. We could ask however: How could a person infuriated by an illicit assessment on honorariums be fond of the government? We believe that Vitanyi is not fond of the government. Accordingly: The part could easily be the same as the whole.

Aside from all this, the following analysis also recognizes the fact that individual representatives have their own "specialty" bugs. For example: At an SZDSZ parliamentary group meeting called before balloting, Balint Magyar expressed his view that one should yield with regard to honorariums. The situation was clear: The opinion-molding intelligentsia had been bending his ear, personally. Ivan Peto on the other hand, argued in the spirit of the coalition agreement in support of the government's position. As the result of a close vote, Peto's view prevailed within the SZDSZ parliamentary group. (Nevertheless, for some reason rumors were leaked, according to which the free democrats were released from under party discipline regarding honorariums, and were allowed to vote anyway they wanted.) In casting the recorded vote, Balint Magyar subjected himself to party discipline, but voted contrary to the government position when a compromise was offered (not to apply the Draconian rule to institutions funded by the state budget, such as theaters, universities, foundations and social organizations). Aside from that, however, the totality of Magyar's votes reflects loyalty.

Vitanyi's votes, on the other hand, in a non-"bolshevik" fashion, called for an exemption from under social security contributions not only with respect to honorariums, but also in regard to wages people receive while on sick leave. He was unsuccessful in the end. The number of days available for sick leave (paid for by employers, not by social security) were increased by the Bokros package from 10 to 25 days, but employees would receive no pay, whatsoever, after the first five days of sick leave. Representing MSZOSZ (National Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions), Sandor Nagy proposed that truly sick persons be helped by being exempted from the requirement to pay social security contributions: this way they would be granted sick leave easier. And what if such employees are not really sick, and besides, also go to work? Lajos Bokros does not like to deal with exceptions and back doors. This is why he was glad to hear the other proposal offered by MSZOSZ, in which social security contributions would have to be paid after at least three kinds of minimum wages (the smallest wage presently amounting to 12,200 forints [Ft], the Ft14,600 "skilled worker" minimum wage, and the Ft18,300 "degree holders'" minimum wage). This provision was offered as part of the fight against concealed wages.

The part and the whole are also linked together based on the manner in which society is viewed. Belt tightening is being pursued under the banner of discontinuing exceptions, and increasing the number of persons who share the public burden. This policy can be proven to work only if the rate of public burden can indeed be reduced in the foreseeable future, as promised by Bokros. But on this occasion, belt tightening undoubtedly had philosophical foundations, and these foundations were not concealed from representatives. (One could argue that these foundations did, indeed, remain concealed, because only later was it revealed that Bokros received a Ft16 million severance pay from the state-owned Budapest Bank, when he left his post as chief executive of the Bank to head the Finance Ministry.) The details of important matters which became subjects of debate expressed the favored, excepted character of one or another group in society, and to this extent, affected the entire economic policy of the government.

At the same time, Tamas Bauer (SZDSZ) was exaggerating in his writing "In defense of staunchly supporting the government," when chiding his fellow representatives who voted against the government: "It is indecent on part of certain representatives within the parliamentary groups of the ruling parties—many of whom are leading officials—to claim to represent popular endeavors, thus increasing their own political capital, while leaving to others the task of defending sometimes unpopular, nevertheless unavoidable measures proposed by the government." (NEPSZABADSAG, 29 May). Occasionally, some real arguments provide foundations for the desire to be popular. On the other hand, certain steps do not become "unavoidable" by all means, just because the government is taking those steps. The government itself recognized this when it agreed to incorporate in the legislative proposal a number of proposed amendments—more than a hundred of them—before individual provisions of the law were voted on.

Most important is the adoption of the package prepared by the socialist social policy group, among other things the provision in which families with three or more children will continue to receive various child benefits to which they are entitled as individuals. In reality, well-to-do large families will gain from this provision, because families with moderate incomes would have been eligible to receive this kind of support anyway, even as

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originally proposed by the government. The individual entitlement of large families will cost between Ft2-3 billion according to the finance minister, i.e., almost the same as the amount that would have been consumed by elevating child care aid and child-raising support to the level of a citizen right (Ft3.5 billion). Broadening the scope of GYES [child-care allowance] and GYED [child-care pay] would have targeted families which do not receive any social provisions because they are not "insured," and did not work before they established families. The election program of the free democrats and the government program declared that this problem would be resolved, except that late last year the trade unions, in exchange for other concessions, agreed to postpone taking this step until July 1995. But Bokros and his package interfered with the plan. At present, Gabriella Beki and other SZDSZ social policy makers recommend, among other things, that the entitlement to receive GYES lasts for two and a half years, and not for three years, irrespective of a family's "insured" status. The MSZP social policy group headed by Judit Csehak proved to be stronger, however, and the issue was not important from the standpoint of Gabor Kuncze. He, therefore, did not support the SZDSZ social policy package at the government meeting. In the end, only 15 free democrats voted in favor of GYES and only eight voted in favor of GYET [child-raising support], and thereby continued to support the "original" SZDSZ concept.

Division of Votes Cast by MSZP and SZDSZ Parliamentary Representatives Against the Government

Total number of antigovernment votes	MSZP Group of Representatives	SZDSZ Group of Representatives
1-2	35	14
3-8	57	9
9-12	33	1
Total	125	24
Of this at least three times	88	10
No votes cast against the government	71	36
Number of representatives voting	196	70

Watersheds

Beki's proposals also indicate that excess benefits recommended contrary to the government's plan did not always contradict the principle of "indigence." Not every vote cast in opposition to the government expresses opposition to the government's economic policy. But in this instance, the large number of votes cast against the government program indeed suggest that some ruling party groups are prepared to turn against the policy line followed at present. Our calculation below attempts to measure the size of this group.

Division of the MSZP and SZDSZ Parliamentary Groups According to the Subject Matter of Votes Cast in Opposition to the Government

Number of anti-government topics voted on	MSZP Group of Representatives	SZDSZ Group of Representatives
1	23	17
2	32	5
3-5	75	5
Total	125	24
No votes cast against the government	71	36
Number of representatives voting	196	70

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Most votes cast in opposition to the government pertained to contributions to meals, and to the exemption of honorariums from under social security contributions. In the former case, the 180 votes cast in opposition to the government (of which 88 were cast by MSZP representatives, and two by SZDSZ representatives) prevailed. (This measure cost the Social Security Administration Ft5 billion.) In the latter case, the 159 votes cast in opposition to the government (including 63 MSZP and five SZDSZ votes) proved to be insufficient to enforce the opposing view, but a compromise proposal passed the House, according to which (a) no social security contributions would have to be paid after honorariums of deceased authors, but (b) social security contributions would have to be paid after fees received for innovations and inventions.

Votes were taken on a total of 77 substantive amendments not supported by the government; in these cases the yea votes exceeded the nay votes in 17 instances, (but the number of affirmative votes was not sufficient to vote down the government because there also were abstentions). From among these critical votes we selected 12, which would, or would have clearly reduced revenues or increased expenditures. These 12 rounds of balloting dealt with five topics:

—family supplement, maternity support, (four rounds of balloting);

—from among the above-mentioned Beki proposals only the child upbringing support (because the proposal related to GYES also included a "constraint"; it would have reduced the period of eligibility to two and a half years);

—Laszlo Surjan's (KDNP) [Christian Democratic People's Party] proposal calling for continued payment of income supplement after the expiration of eligibility (two years) to persons unemployed in the long term long, who raise at least two children;

—exempting meals at the work place, and sick leave as part of income considered as the basis for social security contributions (three rounds of balloting); and finally,

—the above-mentioned honorarium issue (three rounds of balloting).

These topics represent entirely different kinds of preferences: The amendments offered by Beki and Surjan would help the poor, the amendments related to family supplement and meals at the work place would affect the lower-middle strata of society, while making honorariums subject to social security contributions could involve fees amounting to several hundred thousand forints.

Counting

Representatives from the opposition parties voted against the government in each case, therefore, the final results were determined by coalition representatives. The question is this: How large is the group of representatives within the coalition, that voted in opposition to the government on several issues, or on several topics? As indicated by our tables, this group is quite large within the MSZP. Eighty-eight MSZP representatives voted at least three times in opposition to the government; this number is larger than the entire SZDSZ group of parliamentary representatives. The "social sensitivity" of these 88 representatives is rather broadly based: 75 of the 88 followed their on consciences with respect to at least three different topics. In viewing the way these representatives pulled apart, one must not neglect considering the professional ties of these representatives either: characteristically, (even though there were some exceptions,) MSZP's social, cultural, and educational policy makers would have softened Bokros and his package with respect to three or more topics, while economic policy makers, agricultural experts, representatives concerned with the budget, (and interestingly, the socialist members of the Committee on Local Government) proved to be contrary in regard to one or two topics, at most.

The following representatives voted in opposition to their party's government in at least nine instances (regarding four, but more likely five topics): Pal Kovacs from among the former ministers, while Bela Katona also remained "necessarily absent" on 24 May; Gyorgy Janosi from among the former state secretaries; Mihaly Bihari, Lajos Matyas Szabo, and Matyas Szuros from among the "national" wing of the party; Rezso Nyers, the great doyen, and Pal Fillo, the great populist; and from the trade unionists, educator Mrs. Istvan Szollosi, miner Antal Schalkhammer, and postal worker Lajos Konya.

The list continues: BIT [Leftist Youth Association] officials Gabor Csizmar, Gabor Juhasz, Peter Kiss, and Katalin Szabo; social policy makers Judit Csehak, Istvan Garai, Tibor Schwartz, and Mrs. Sandor Szabo, as well as SZDSZ representative Gabriella Beki; educational policy makers Andras Benko, Laszlo Korosfoi, and Istvan Orosz; cultural policy makers Ildiko Lendvai and Bela Pal.

And further: Attila Antaloczy, the representative from the outskirts of Angyalfold, whose career includes periods with KISZ [Communist Youth Organization] as well as SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions]; Magdolna Barath (elected from the Pest County slate); Mrs. Laszlo Csabai (elected from the Szabolcs County slate);

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Gyorgy Hiesz, former party secretary at the Godollo academy (elected from the Heves County slate); Tamas Koltai (from Tiszavasvari); Zoltan Pava, the assistant chief of the handball division at Komlo; teachers Imre Szabo from Dombovar and Imre Takacs from Hajduszoboszlo; Andras Toth, a high school principal in Tata; and former Keszthely council chairman Miklos Veer, a founding member of the Association of Persons with Large Families, and presently the employment policy expert of the MSZP.

MSZOSZ Chairman Sandor Nagy, and Steelworkers Union official Laszlo Paszternak spoke in a subdued tone of voice; Nagy voted against the government's position in "only" four of the preliminary rounds of balloting examined by us (regarding three topics), while Paszternak expressed opposition in only three preliminary rounds of balloting (regarding two topics). In the final round of balloting on 30 May, from among those who voted "nay," Ferenc Kosa struggled against the government's tide with respect to "only" seven issues (three topics), Albert Alfoldi regarding eight issues (five topics), and Janos Veres regarding six issues (four topics). Zoltan Daroczy abstained on 24 May.

What conclusion can be drawn from this? The conclusion we have already stated: These days only a few socialist representatives openly oppose the Bokros package and the government that proposed it. But greater is the number of those who only wait for an opportunity to do so.

Interparty Maneuvering To Unravel Coalition

95CH0298A Budapest BESZELO in Hungarian 22 Jun 95 pp 11-12

[Article by Janos Zolnay: "Voices of Mermaids—The 'National Wing' of Orban, Giczy, and the MSZP"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Ferenc Madl's presidential nomination was considered an encouraging sign by the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum], which helped in establishing the Civil Union, but the chairman of the Christian Democrats threw cold water on their hopes. No Civil Union exists at present; at any rate, the KDNP [Christian Democratic People's Party] does not want a premature united front in which the FIDESZ [Alliance of Young Democrats] has an overwhelming majority.*

"A Hungry Horse Dreams of Oats"

This is how socialist parliamentary group leader Gyorgy Giczy's efforts to undermine the government coalition was summarized to us by Imre Szekeres. At the weekend meeting of the national committee, the KDNP chairman encouraged "nationalist" MSZP [Hungarian Socialist Party] politicians to stand up against the coalition. Three weeks ago, at the MDF national congress, Viktor Orban also sent a message to MSZP representatives who "have a national commitment" to come out of the political shade, otherwise the budding Civil Union will be unable to consider them independent partners. The game of handball between the two party chairmen has been going on for a few months (opinions differ as to who was first to throw the ball); the messages are falling on the deaf ears of the MSZP's imaginary "national" wing.

Viktor Orban would like to lead a three-party alliance as soon as possible; to hinder that, Gyorgy Giczy wants to wait as long as possible (presumably until the second round of the next parliamentary elections) choosing from the various combinations of opposition. Between the two, the MDF, which was unable to arrive at a decision at its national congress in late May, is benumbed and silent, i.e., a passive observer of the asymmetric game of its two weaker rivals. If the exclusive group of three does materialize, then the FIDESZ-MSZP will have an initial advantage; however, for that, they would need the Christian Democrats' participation as well. On the other hand, the KDNP is the only one of the three parties which has good relations with the [Independent] Smallholders Party [FKgP] (or the Smallholders Party-MIEP [Hungarian Justice and Life Party]), so it is in a better negotiating position than FIDESZ is. If Orban wants to burn all the bridges and continually offend the not particularly tolerant smallholders, that would in no way harm the KDNP. But if Giczy does the same thing with FIDESZ...

"If we joined this civil union now (incidentally, we do not even agree with the term 'civil'), then FIDESZ would have the upper hand," the party chairman said to our correspondent in parliament's hallway. "The gossip that Viktor Orban is the prime minister-designate by all three parties speaks for itself."

... then Orban must swallow this without a word, for he has his back against the wall. Tibor Fuzessy also should take it to heart that the Christian Democrat electorate needs some time to be convinced that "FIDESZ is indeed on our side." He will not believe that "FIDESZ has always said what it says today, only the context..." Such outbursts are improper except in theatrical scenes organized for the free democrats, who advanced from sour allies to public enemy number one. In the new union, in which the Christian Democrats are indispensable, Orban can only be a yes-man.

And the Socialists with a "National Commitment"?

... both party chairmen can, without hesitation, "send the same message" to them, even if with diametrically opposite meanings. They should not expect

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any reply. The FIDESZ wants to "hold"—or rather, "squeeze"—together the government coalition until the end of its [present] term, and even beyond that. The SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats], which cannot ever be presentable again, is their primary target ("Let grow together what must grow together," said the FIDESZ-MSZP chairman at the MDF congress. "The free democrats' place is where they tied their horses: in the stall of the socialists," he said to the New Democrats), but the FIDESZ would not be very happy to see renegade socialists increase the number of their rivals. On the other hand, the KDNP is indeed interested in undermining the coalition, i.e., in further diversifying the political palette and thereby increasing its room for maneuvering. But they do not seriously consider toppling the government either and thus, in this sense, their "messages" are bluffs. No party of the present opposition considers the MSZP's "nationalist" wing an actual and serious partner, not even if some of the opposition has good relations with quite a few of its representatives.

Bela Pokol's mediation attempt between the civil union and the socialists' "national wing" was unsuccessful. An era came to an end in May 1994: the media war cannot be used anymore for an opposition platform, not to speak of the fact that keeping the SZDSZ in government is more important for Orban than curbing the bogeyman of "socialist-liberal media rule."

After Gyorgy Janosi resigned from his position of political state secretary and after the waves of the February "cultural struggle" subsided, it turned out that the Antall administration's dejecting "cultural shows" can only be reheated for so long. By and large, the Bokros program swept away the debates on educational policy. (In February, the MSZP executive committee still thought that there would be no tuition during the present term...) "There are many of us, including myself, who in many issues stand closer to the KDNP than to the SZDSZ," told Janosi to our correspondent, but he thought that the notion of a break within the MSZP parliamentary group is illusory, and considered the attempt to break up the coalition a thing that both parliamentary groups must reject."

State Secretary Csaba Tabajdi, who is considered a "nationalist," also rejected the Christian Democrats' voices of mermaids. His caution is understandable, for the changes in the Office of National and Ethnic Minority's high-ranking personnel—Wolfart-Bathory team's departure and Eva Orsos' appointment—eliminated one of the most important positions of the MSZP's "national" wing.

"We have good enough relations with the leaders of the KDNP to initiate talks with them," said Matyas Szuros, referring to the KDNP weekend. However, the opposition's support for Szuros' nomination for president was never a reality. According to State Secretary Istvan Szent-Ivanyi, after delivering one of his most brilliant opposition speeches, Szuros was totally abandoned at the voting on the Slovak-Hungarian national agreement. "I was surprised that I was the only one in our parliamentary group to abstain," said Szuros. "I understand Viktor Orban. Some people think that they represent the MSZP's national left wing, but are unable to emerge as an organized force and have a say in the MSZP's party relations. Perhaps we still have a chance to organize ourselves and develop a platform, but our number is decreasing."

It is possible that no Civil Union exists at present, but this is also true of the "national left wing," for its members are losing their own games. On the other hand, the government mainstream may feel that the opposition's influence is so minimal that it does not have to be taken seriously at all. But if it must, then the Horn administration is still the lesser of two evils in the long run because the opposition works with such retrogressive arguments. God help a country that does not have any alternatives.

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Morillon Urges 'Resolute Action' Against Serbs

AU0308110795 Hamburg STERN in German 3 Aug 95 pp 88-90

[Interview with French General Philippe Morillon by Tilman Mueller and Stefanie Rosenkranz; place and date not given: "Take Action Against the Serbs as We Did Against Saddam"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [STERN] In March 1993, you defended the UN protection zone of Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia against the Serbs at the risk of your life and were revered in the Western world as a hero. Would you be ready today to repeat your operation?

[Morillon] Two years ago, I wanted to prevent precisely what happened now, a crime against humanity. But the situation was different. At that time, even Serbs came to me spontaneously and kissed my hand in gratitude. Meanwhile, the situation has escalated. I doubt that a repetition of my approach in the past weeks would have had any prospects of success.

[STERN] Does the fate of the people in Srebrenica move you today as it did then?

[Morillon] Yes. They are asking me for help, and it hurts. That is why I asked my defense minister to permit me to speak after a long silence.

[STERN] What did you feel when Ratko Mladic, the army chief of the Bosnian Serbs, marched into the protection zone of Srebrenica with his troops?

[Morillon] It was a shock to see the Muslim population being driven out like cattle. But what irritates me most is that Mladic has proved thereby how incapable the West is of responding.

[STERN] General, are you now also as helpless as the rest of the world?

[Morillon] Not at all. The point now is for us to prevent a very dangerous development in the Balkans, the lifting of the arms embargo against the Bosnian Muslims, which has been demanded in the United States. This would be an absolutely wrong step, because it would take too long for the Bosnian Army to be equipped with heavy weapons. General Mladic will not give his enemy time to do so. Once the embargo is lifted, the fall of Sarajevo will follow. I intend to convince the U.S. Congress of this in Washington this week.

[STERN] As commander of the UN troops in Bosnia, you often met with Ratko Mladic. What impression do you have of him?

[Morillon] He wants to become king of Serbia—Ratko I.

[STERN] Are you serious?

[Morillon] Of course, I am. He believes he is Napoleon Bonaparte. But he should know that Napoleon, having been defeated, was first exiled on Elba and then on St. Helena. This is also my hope for Mladic.

[STERN] Isn't such a comparison an exaggeration?

[Morillon] I studied Ratko Mladic very closely in the 16 months in which I was in Bosnia. Arrogance is his main trait. The talks I held with him were a tug-of-war, a continuous power struggle. He is very intelligent, he knows exactly how far he can go. But believe me: He is only strong because we are weak.

[STERN] What can be done to change this?

[Morillon] We must stop posing as peace angels. The United Nations became involved in this conflict as if it was a classical peace mission. That was a grave mistake, which allowed Mladic to increase his power and stabilize it.

[STERN] Is he supported by President Slobodan Milosevic from the Serb mother country?

[Morillon] The whole Serbian Army, including the General Staff in Belgrade, follows Mladic. I believe that even Milosevic is his prisoner now.

[STERN] Why did you not turn against Mladic earlier?

[Morillon] During my time in Bosnia, the situation was different. We all believed in 1993 that the Vance-Owen peace plan would be accepted by the three warring parties. I still remember very clearly Serb leader Radovan Karadzic sitting beside me and stressing that the plan would get a 70-percent majority in his parliament of Pale. However, on the night of the vote, Mladic convinced the deputies that he could win in the battlefield, and peace was not in the Serbian people's interest. Mladic's coup had consequences: Since then, he has been the ruler of Bosnia.

[STERN] Do you see him as the man who is mainly responsible for the further escalation of the Balkan war?

[Morillon] We are dealing with a charismatic leader who presents himself as the defender of the Serbian Christians against Islam, without being a believer himself. He uses religion to legitimize his brutal war of conquest. Did you see the pictures of Mladic when he seized the protection zone of Zepa? Somehow he reminds me of Adolf Hitler.

[STERN] Since then, neither NATO nor the Blue Helmet troops have taken steps against the Serbian soldiers, and Mladic is marching on.

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[Morillon] The UN Tribunal in The Hague charged him as war criminal.

[STERN] Do you think that bothers him?

[Morillon] Certainly not. However, a UN body has indicted the two leaders of the Bosnian Serbs. Thus other UN authorities cannot sit together with them at a table any more. Of course, it is up to the politicians to decide whether they will negotiate with the two nevertheless. However, the president of what is left of Yugoslavia must now break with them and extradite them to the Tribunal in The Hague. Should he fail to do so, his country will be ousted from the international community just as Germany was under Hitler. It is still not too late for Milosevic.

[STERN] Does your rejection of further negotiations with Mladic and Karadzic mean that you advocate military intervention against the Bosnian Serbs?

[Morillon] Yes, it does. However, before intervening massively, we should try to restore the blue helmets' leeway of action in Bosnia with the help of the Rapid Reaction Force. This means that the occupation of Sarajevo must be interrupted, the airlift must be opened, and relief shipments must be ensured.

[STERN] The United States is urging massive air raids. Do you think this is the right approach?

[Morillon] No. As long as the politicians have not opted for intervention, the threat of air strikes will remain a deterrent. For supporting the ground troops, however, limited air raids are a legitimate means of self-defense.

[STERN] Will NATO only act if Gorazde is attacked, or does this also apply to other protection zones like Bihac?

[Morillon] I can only hope so. If we are now so cowardly as to let Bosnia down, we will lose all, really all, credibility and will create a fertile ground for despots like Vladimir Zhirinovskiy who are all only waiting to behave like Ratko Mladic. If we withdraw now, it is useless to continue spending money for our armies. It would be the end of NATO. We would give up the principles on which our civilization is based. In the center of Europe, a Gaza strip would emerge in which hundreds of thousands of uprooted people over many generations would dream about reconquering their home country, with all the known phenomena that this entails, terrorism, guerrilla warfare, Islamic fundamentalism....

[STERN] Like you, your president calls for resolute action. What does that mean?

[Morillon] It will be decisive whether the reinforcement of the Rapid Reaction Force will bring successes. Otherwise, NATO must take action against Karadzic and Mladic as it did against Saddam Husayn. Our troops have the moral right to defend the European culture and human rights in Bosnia. Yesterday, I was at the funeral of a French medical officer who was killed in action near Sarajevo. He leaves behind a young wife and three little children. In our profession, we are ready to make sacrifices, but no senseless sacrifices.

Government 'Very Satisfied' With U.S. Vote

AU0208161295 Paris AFP in English 1559 GMT 2 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Aug 2 (AFP)—The Bosnian Government Wednesday [2 August] hailed the U.S. House of Representatives' vote in favour of scrapping the arms embargo on Bosnia, but said no concrete effect was expected before September.

Speaking a day after the House voted 298 to 128 in favour of lifting the arms embargo against the former Yugoslav republic, one minister, Hasan Muratovic, said: "We are very satisfied with the resolution."

But Muratovic, the minister responsible for relations with the United Nations, added: "We do not expect any concrete results before September. It is complicated, but we can see step by step it's going towards the final resolution. We are sure it is going to be lifted."

The vote required the embargo to be lifted after a withdrawal of UN peacekeepers or within 12 weeks of a request by the Moslem-led Bosnian Government.

U.S. President Bill Clinton has said he will veto the bill on the grounds that it will lead to the collapse of the UN peacekeeping effort in Bosnia.

Silajdzic, Izetbegovic Meet France's De Charette

AU0308124095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 3 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] French Foreign Minister Herve de Charette today travelled from Paris to [name indistinct] and then continued to Zenica to have talks with top Bosnia-Herzegovina officials.

The French foreign minister was met in Zenica by Haris Silajdzic, prime minister of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. After meeting Prime Minister Silajdzic, the French minister was also received by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

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Silajdzic Satisfied

AU0308142295 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 3 Aug 95

[Report by Sefik Mujkic from Zenica]

[FBIS Translated Text] The French delegation headed by Foreign Minister Herve de Charette was received by Zenica Governor (Besim Spahic) who briefed them on the current situation and the activities of the political parties in the area. Later, talks were held between the French minister and Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic, who expressed satisfaction with the French Government's latest moves regarding the situation in our country. Mr. Silajdzic stressed:

Mr. de Charette has said that we primarily need peace and I agree that we need peace; we have done everything to see that peace is restored, [words indistinct] accepted the Contact Group plan [words indistinct] the Serbian leadership does not want it. On the other hand, I have expressed satisfaction with the new French Government's moves, particularly with its active role in the passing of the resolution on Gorazde, which was later extended to include Bihac and Sarajevo; I have in mind the NATO umbrella, about which we spoke earlier, Prime Minister Silajdzic told reporters after the talks.

As I file this report, French Foreign Minister Herve de Charette is in talks with Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, and Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic.

Zubak, Izetbegovic Meet Behind Closed Doors

LD0208171895 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosnia in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 2 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Delegations of the Croat and Bosniak people, led by Kresimir Zubak, president of the Presidential Council of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia and president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, and Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, have started talks behind closed doors.

This is the first meeting of the highest-ranking officials of the Croat and Bosnian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina since the signing of the Split declaration.

As announced before the meeting, apart from the Split declaration, the delegations will discuss the general situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

An official statement for the public is expected after the meeting.

The meeting is also attended by Jadranko Prlic, prime minister of Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia and defense minister and deputy prime minister of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation; by Ivan Bender, president of the Chamber of Deputies; by Haris Silajdzic, prime minister of the Federation; and by Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic.

Foreign Minister Sacirbegovic Views Crisis

NC0308061195 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 0330 GMT 3 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] This week has been declared the week of solidarity with the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Our political report today is devoted to an exclusive interview granted to our correspondent, Qoroqi, by Bosnian Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic, who told our correspondent:

[Begin Sacirbegovic recording in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed translation into Persian by Qoroqi] The Bosnian nation has lost all hope of international forums solving the crisis in the country; it attaches hope only to the world of Islam and to assistance by Islamic countries.

The presence of the UN forces does not help the Bosnian people; it has become a pretext for continuing the Bosnian sanctions. Many European officials have told me that if the Bosnians were Christians, Europe and the West would have approached things differently and the Serbs would never have been given the opportunity to perpetrate such crimes.

We do not want Europe to consider us as one of its own. But we want human rights and international laws to be implemented according to the same principles they claim.

Some Islamic countries, especially the Islamic Republic of Iran, have played a significant role in the Bosnian people's resistance. Also, the foreign ministers and chiefs of joint staff of the Islamic countries will meet next month in Malaysia to examine ways to send military assistance to the Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

I must point out the unity of Bosnia and Croatia, the result of which we have seen in recent days. This unity was created with the help and efforts of the Islamic Republic of Iran, to which we are grateful. [end recording]

Rejects FRY Recognition

AU0208141495 Zagreb GLOBUS in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jul 95 pp 7-8

[Interview with Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic by Vlado Vurusic in Zagreb; date not given:

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"Bosnia- Herzegovina Will Not Accept Recognition Offered by the So-Called Yugoslavia!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] We have been talking to Muhamed Sacirbegovic, foreign minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina and former ambassador of Bosnia-Herzegovina to the United Nations, in the Bosnian Embassy in Zagreb about the reasons for signing the declaration on military cooperation between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina and its effects. Our discussion was interrupted by calls from several U.S. senators, to whom Sacirbegovic explained the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and tried to persuade them to vote for the lifting of the arms embargo against Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Vurusic] Although the declaration on military cooperation between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina signed in Split had been expected even earlier, it came about at the time of serious Serbian attacks on the safe areas of Zepa and Bihac and also coincided with serious threats of extensive airstrikes by NATO. How do you assess the Split declaration, what have both states achieved thereby, and when might it be put into practice, that is, when could open intervention by the Croatian Army occur in Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Sacirbegovic] I think that relations between our two countries have matured, although this may have taken a little longer than was necessary or expected, with regard to the Serbian aggression and the military situation both in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

All the time we have been aware that better cooperation was necessary and even crucial. Relations, despite the need for closer cooperation, were tense and burdened by the events in Mostar and central Bosnia in 1993 and early 1994. I think that now we have mustered the courage to lift ourselves above that, in the name of higher interests. The Split declaration is a logical product of the Washington Agreement.

With this declaration it has been proven once more that Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina are historical and natural allies, that they have been attacked by the same aggressor, and that they are the victims of the same Greater Serbian policy. Croatia is in any case in a much more favorable position than Bosnia-Herzegovina, particularly in terms of its economic and military potential, but on the other hand, circumstances in Croatia itself, and I refer here to liberating the occupied Croatian regions, largely depend on the development of the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is because any success of the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina helps the Serbs in Croatia. Besides, the Serbs consider Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina as a single front. It is high time that we started behaving in the same way as well.

The Meaning of the Declaration

[Vurusic] What have the two states concretely achieved with the declaration?

[Sacirbegovic] I think that the declaration is beneficial to both states. Both Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina have found in it protection for their respective interests and at the same time they have improved their international position.

Croatia has achieved through Bosnia-Herzegovina, so to speak, the positive image that Bosnia-Herzegovina enjoys in the world. The reasons for that positive image are not comforting: It has to do with sympathy and compassion for the victim. Such an act of cooperation and assistance may be useful for Croatia in international relations, since Bosnia-Herzegovina has good relations in the West as well as in the East, and particularly among Islamic countries, some of them being not only financially, but also politically very powerful. On the other hand, Croatia is investing in the agreement its substantial military force, an army that is modern, capable, well trained, and efficient, as was demonstrated by the recent action in western Slavonia.

However, the two armies of Bosnia-Herzegovina, namely the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], which I consider to be a single army, should not be underestimated either, even though we lack arms.

Besides, as far as I can see, Croatia is a solid economic force.

The declaration that we have signed in Split reflects at the same time the situation on the ground between the two nations.

Embargo

[Vurusic] At the recent meeting of the Organization of Islamic Countries it was said that they would simply lift the arms embargo against Bosnia-Herzegovina. The issue is now being discussed in the U.S. Congress as well. Is there a realistic possibility for Bosnia-Herzegovina finally to start obtaining arms legally and on a massive scale?

[Sacirbegovic] In informal talks with the participants of the conference in Geneva, they asked me whether our government would bring up the problem of the arms embargo at the UN Security Council. We shall not, nor do we want to, bring up the question of lifting of the arms embargo in the United Nations. It has been precisely three and a half years now since the United Nations and the international community, by way of Security Council, imposed the arms embargo

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on our nation and state, which were attacked, and still it has done nothing, or almost nothing, to prevent the war, genocide, and suffering of the Bosniaks and Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina. For that reason we do not want to call on them. They claim that UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] has contributed to reducing the number of casualties, which partly cannot be denied, but the most deserving in nthis regard are our armies: the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO.

And it is clear that it is precisely the embargo that has prevented the two equal armies of Bosnia-Herzegovina to save even more lives and prevent destruction.

I think that now, after three and a half years of all that has happened in Bosnia-Herzegovina, we no longer have to explain again and again why we consider the arms embargo illegal and unjust.

Actually, they should explain to us why they consider the embargo legal. Let them explain why Resolution 713 is still in force, by which the embargo was imposed at a time when Bosnia-Herzegovina did not yet exist as an independent state. Then Bosnia-Herzegovina was formally still part of the SFRY, whose UN representative asked and voted for that shameful resolution.

At the London conference, where a decision on air strikes against the Serbs was supposed to be made, the British representative told me that they, the British, could not take sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Yet, in the case of Srebrenica when they were not supposed to take the side of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, they were supposed to take the side of civilians who came under attack. After all, even the UNPROFOR representatives themselves confirmed later that in Srebrenica it was mostly civilians who suffered. It is they who should have been defended.

[Vurusic] Do you think that the U.S. Congress this week will vote for lifting the arms embargo against Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Sacirbegovic] I think it will, but that still does not mean anything, for President Clinton might veto the decision of Congress. Nevertheless, regardless of the possible veto, voting for lifting the arms embargo will have a great echo and great political significance for us. After the London conference, at which decisions regarding air strikes in case of a Serbian attack on Gorazde were made, some people in the United States thought that Congress should not unilaterally lift the arms embargo. However, after talking to many U.S. senators, I have the impression that they are not quite satisfied with the decisions made in London and that the London conference should not be a reason for Congress not to vote for the lifting of the embargo.

[Vurusic] In the Split declaration it was agreed that the Croatian Army may take part in military operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Does that mean that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army could conduct operations in the occupied regions of Croatia as well, since the 5th Corps is fighting against the Croatian Serbs?

[Sacirbegovic] We did not discuss that, although a Western diplomat in Zagreb told me that he did not exclude such a possibility.

Croatia did not ask for the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's assistance on its territory, but if the Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina regard the two fronts as one, and if they consider us Bosniaks and the Croats to be their mutual enemy, I do not know why we should not treat Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina as a single front as well.

I do not know why we should not attack objectives in the occupied regions of Croatia, from where the Serbs are attacking us, or why Croatia should not help us in preventing Bihac from falling, if the town is of strategic importance to Croatia as well.

In any case, we did not ask Croatia for help in defending only our territories. The declaration has enabled Croatia to work for its interests and free its territories. Now nobody can accuse Croatia of working against international law, because it is the only country that is giving military help to the currently greatest European victim of genocide and at the same time it is protecting its own interests. If Croatia sets out to help the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO units in Bihac, nobody will dare to condemn such an action by Croatia.

[Vurusic] How do you assess the conclusions of the London conference?

[Sacirbegovic] At the conference it was restated that the international community is not ready to defend Bosnia-Herzegovina. In London a decision was made regarding the defense of a single enclave in which 60,000 people live, and who, to put it frankly, are able to defend themselves, unlike in Srebrenica and even Zepa. They organized such a grandiose, large conference to decide how they would defend just a small part of the internationally recognized Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Vurusic] Many commentators have understood the Split declaration as a decision made by Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina to go to war and reject peace negotiations. How do you comment on that?

[Sacirbegovic] Foreign journalists are incessantly asking me and Mr. Granic [Croatian foreign minister] whether

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the declaration means that we have decided to support the military option. However, everybody is disregarding the fact that we have been attending negotiations for three and a half years, that we have signed all possible declarations, accepted various plans and suggestions, and have been constantly avoiding military action to free the occupied territories. We have been stressing that we are for peace, while the Serbs have not signed anything or have incessantly violated what has been agreed upon, as they are getting arms and logistical support from Serbia. The Croatian Serbs pass through UNCRO [UN Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia] checkpoints without any problems and are taking part in the operations around Bihac, but when we demand the lifting of the arms embargo, or when we sign the Split declaration, they immediately start denouncing us, yelling: "You are for war!," of "You support the military option," and so forth.

Milosevic's Recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina

[Sacirbegovic continues] We are not giving up negotiations, but we cannot continue the struggle with a piece of paper. It is they who have chosen the war option, not we. I think that the situation would develop in a completely different way if we had in one hand a piece of paper and in the other a gun. It is questionable what the Serbs would choose and how they would respond to that.

[Vurusic] Several days ago world news agencies were reporting that Carl Bildt had agreed with Milosevic on Serbia's recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Do you think that recognition will really come about? What would it actually mean?

[Sacirbegovic] I do not think that Milosevic's recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina would present a danger for Croatia, but the Croatian foreign minister and I have signed a request for the mutual recognition of our three states, because we consider this to be a normal way toward a peaceful settlement. However, it should be clear that we are not ready to accept recognition under the conditions presented by Milosevic.

I would even say that what Milosevic is offering is an illusion, because he is trying through recognition, rather than through mutual recognition, to dictate the peace process in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and create for himself an image of peacemaker with the international community, and through such hasty recognition to accomplish the lifting of the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro, that is, the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia].

Some people in the West are ready to forget Milosevic's crimes if he says "Yes" to some of their proposals, so that they could draw upon this to say that they have accomplished something. Our main interest is not that one criminal should recognize the victim of his crime, but rather that he should plead with the victim to enter with it the process of mutual recognition. It appears as if he were doing us an honor by considering recognizing us, but it is actually we who are giving him a chance somehow to make up for his crimes.

We shall agree to suspend sanctions against Serbia, if it really comes to the closing of the Bosnia-Herzegovina borders that are controlled by Karadzic's Serbs and the renouncing of any military or political aid to Karadzic on the part of the FRY.

[Vurusic] If Milosevic recognizes Bosnia-Herzegovina, will Bosnia-Herzegovina automatically recognize Serbia, that is, the FRY?

[Sacirbegovic] We are ready to recognize that state under the condition that I have already mentioned to you. We have no territorial aspirations whatsoever toward them, but we do want Belgrade to guarantee the ethnic and human rights of all non-Serbs in the FRY.

[Vurusic] What about the recognition of Croatia by the FRY?

[Sacirbegovic] We have even made it conditional to a degree that our recognition should come about simultaneously with that of Croatia. Milosevic must prove through mutual recognition that he is giving up the policy of Greater Serbia. Instead of agreeing to mutual recognition, he is exploiting the weaknesses of Western policy on Bosnia-Herzegovina to put forward his own conditions.

[Vurusic] Do you think that by speculating over the recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina Milosevic is trying to prevent possible NATO air strikes against the Bosnian Serbs?

[Sacirbegovic] First, NATO forces are getting ready to react to the realistic situation on the ground, because of Zepa, Bihac, or Sarajevo. They will not react to Milosevic's political moves. Milosevic's possible recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina should not actually prevent NATO from carrying out possible air strikes against the Bosnian Serbs.

I know that on 7 July Milosevic discussed the possible mutual recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the FRY with Carl Bildt, in the presence of Ratko Mladic, which did not deter Mladic from attacking Srebrenica as soon as the following day.

Milosevic is now playing with the possible recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina, because he has seen that it is

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bringing him positive points and he could accomplish the suspension or lifting of the sanctions through this. Nothing concrete is to be found behind the announcement of the recognition. He is a very pragmatic politician.

NATO's Threat

[Vurusic] How serious is NATO's threat of attacks against the Serbs? Do you think that massive air strikes could really happen?

[Sacirbegovic] We have heard many such threats in the course of the past three years and nothing has ever happened. Nevertheless, I would not completely discard the decisions made in London, for they do carry a certain weight.

[Vurusic] Do you think that any considerable changes have come about in the Western attitudes toward Bosnia?

[Sacirbegovic] They do not feel sorry for Bosnia and it is rather their honor and respectability in the world that is on trial in Bosnia. I would like it if President Chirac were serious in announcing intervention against the Serbs, but it is well known that France as political factor has never been particularly interested in us.

You know, this might sound offensive, but in describing the London conference I would use an old Sarajevo slang term, a motley lie. I would use that term to describe the current negotiations about the Western actions that are to be taken in Bosnia- Herzegovina. Those are, actually, old decisions to which they are trying to give new shape and which were actually never implemented.

[Vurusic] What will happen to UNPROFOR in Bosnia-Herzegovina after Srebrenica and Zepa?

[Sacirbegovic] The current mandate of UNPROFOR has become definitely unsatisfactory for us. They will have to change their behavior or leave. Certain countries have already announced that their forces will stay on in Bosnia-Herzegovina even if the UN mission is called off. We welcome such decisions. It may happen that our government sets a deadline to UNPROFOR to change its mandate or leave Bosnia-Herzegovina. The mandate expires in November this year.

We have nothing against foreign troops coming to our aid in defending civilians, but that is not our main intention. We want those who do come not to condition their arrival or stay with keeping the arms embargo in force.

Now we learn that the Rapid Reaction Force is coming to Bosnia-Herzegovina to protect UNPROFOR. If, by protecting UNPROFOR, they will make it possible for UNPROFOR to protect civilians and fulfill its mandate, then it is not an extremely bad move.

[Vurusic] Why was it decided at the London conference that Gorazde should be defended, even though this city, with its 8,000 men under arms, is able to defend itself alone, as you have pointed out yourself?

[Sacirbegovic] That illustrates that the international factors want to save face by making use of our army's potential. Because, Gorazde cannot be taken easily. They are ready to stay in Gorazde as our soldiers are being killed and to hide themselves behind the strength of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, but they are not ready to provide our defenders with flak-jackets, helmets, or guns.

Officials Debate Federation, Confederation

AU0308092495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 3 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The representatives of the Bosniak and Croatian peoples who hold the most prominent state functions in the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina met in Jablanica yesterday. After a debate of several hours, several stands were coordinated regarding (?synchronization) of the Constitution of the Federation and the practical implementation of the Split Declaration.

[words indistinct] debate on the ways of integrating the republican and federal functions at the level of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the president and vice president of the Federation, as well as the governments of the Republic and the Federation, a team of experts was formed that will elaborate and prepare political and legal solutions in this sphere.

The two delegations extended support to the formation of remaining municipal and cantonal bodies of power and their operationalization in order to make the Government of the Federation capable of performing duties on the entire territory of the Federation.

Military cooperation following the Split Declaration was assessed positively and a need for more intensive cooperation on this plane, particularly regarding aid to Bihac, was stressed.

An invitation was issued to members of [Fikret] Abdic's paramilitary to cross over to the units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council with a guarantee that [words indistinct] of the Amnesty Law regarding them.

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The respective ministry was issued the task of [word indistinct] speeding up the return of refugees and expelled people and preparing [word indistinct] programs for the reconstruction of populated places on the basis of the offers by international humanitarian organizations.

The Croatian side said it was positive that the last wave of refugees and the organization of their accommodation did not disturb interethnic relations.

The delegations concluded that activities should continue on strengthening financial discipline and preventing all kinds of crime on the territory of the Federation.

The initiative to adopt an amendment to the Constitution of the Federation to establish (?town) as a form of local administration was supported. It was agreed that versions of the statute of the town of Mostar should be prepared on the local level. Both sides agree that administrative arrangements existing on the day the Constitution of the Federation was adopted will be respected until the establishment of temporary power institutions according to the Constitution.

The two sides agreed to start an initiative on forming bodies to coordinate activities on establishing the Confederation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

Assembly Debate on Amendments Previewed

AU0308151495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 3 Aug 95

[Report by Enes Osmancevic from Zenica]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the time of filing this report, deputies of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly still have not commenced work. The 11th session of the Republican Assembly scheduled to begin this morning will begin in the next few hours.

As we have unofficially learned, the initial debate of the Assembly session could be over in the course of this afternoon and evening. A debate on the proposed amendments to the Constitution of Bosnia-Herzegovina is expected. As is known, there are three amendments: the 81st Amendment which should [words indistinct] the citizens' will on the sovereignty, integrity, and indivisibility of Bosnia-Herzegovina as expressed in the 1991 referendum. The remaining two amendments pertain to Bosnia-Herzegovina's (?growth) and experiences. The 82d Amendment proposes that if the president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency were to permanently stop carrying out his duties during the war regardless of the reasons, the Republican Assembly is to elect a president of the Presidency from the ranks of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency members.

The 83d Amendment envisages that in case a Presidency member is for any reason unable to carry out his duties for any period of time, the Republican Assembly is to appoint an official to carry out the duties for as long as the Presidency member is unable to do so.

If the deputies adopt the proposed amendments, constitutional conditions will be satisfied [words indistinct] appointment of an official who will carry out the duties of Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency member in place of Dr. Ejup Ganic who, for reasons of ill health, is unable to do so. Edhem Bicakcic has already been proposed as the person who would carry out these duties.

It is expected that the debate on the proposed amendments will be over by this evening. We have learned unofficially that a debate on the remaining 30 points on the agenda, including proposals pertaining to changes and addenda to various laws, will be continued tomorrow.

We expect to receive official confirmation of this information in the next hour, which is the time in which the deputy benches should finish their consultations with the Assembly chairman. Following this, we can expect the 11th session of the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina to commence.

Commentary Views Alliance With Croatia

AU0208202395 Sarajevo LJILJAN in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jul 95 p 2

[Commentary by Dzemaludin Latic: "The Muslims Must Punish the Pro-Chetnik Franco-Anglo-Japanese Coalition!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Srebrenica's fall is neither a success for the Chetnik army nor a defeat for the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army; it is clearly a defeat for the international community, which, according to its publicly proclaimed principles and obligations, had to protect this area. We have witnessed how it "protected" it and what happened. In this issue of LJILJAN, our journalists analyze the pact between UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] and the Chetniks, their preparations for the fall of this enclave, our weakness, sufferings, and pain.... At this moment, a horrible drama is unfolding in the forests between Srebrenica and the free territories with an uncertain outcome. If the soldiers from Srebrenica manage to reach Zepa or Tuzla, that must be seen as a success. The majority of the population has been saved, the Chetniks will encounter further resistance, and the army will transfer its activities into the hinterland and soon surprise the Chetniks with new attacks on locations that our soldiers choose. The Chetniks are celebrating now, but it will not last long. They characterize their

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attack on civilians and their "heroism" against the unarmed and the helpless as a military success to disguise their losses around Sarajevo and their alarm over the announced unblocking of the city. It took the Franco-Anglo-Japanese coalition to extract them from the dead-end street in which they found themselves. Their attacks on helpless people were designed to compensate for the 3,000 square kilometers lost since the conflicts between the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and the Bosnian Army stopped!

From the shock that we estimate will not last longer than this issue, with a number of political qualifications, even lamentations, one idea seems politically the most profitable: This was Haris Silajdzic's call to volunteers from the world to join the fight against Serbian fascism in Bosnia-Herzegovina. True, this might sound illusory, but many illusions easily become reality. I do not believe that many anti-fascists from Europe will heed this call, but I am sure that Muslims from all over the world will. Now it is very clear that the Franco-Anglo-Japanese coalition (by this, I mean the governments of these states, not to mention the Russians, Greeks, Canadians, and others) wants to make Bosnia another Spain or Sicily, and those governments must be punished. When I say that, I do not mean terrorism against the citizens of these states, but punishing these and other governments that support the annihilation of the Muslims in the Balkans. We have the moral and every other right to this and the sooner we issue this call, the better for us. There is no other salvation on this earth! And where are the billion Muslims who live on this planet?! Has the world of Islam abandoned Bosnia and its Muslims as well?

Their evil coalitions have put millions of human lives at stake!

But this bitter (what else could it be, if not bitter?) verbal outburst does not imply, according to our ethical and political interests, that we should refuse any humane voice or practical help from non-Muslim countries, even if it comes from the profascist coalition!

Only the Croatian Government can stand in the way of this development! But things are taking such a course that they will not keep the Croatian nation indifferent to Milosevic's news any more. It will never be possible to recapture the Posavina corridor with guns again; it is thickly strewn with tanks and "covered" with the Serb air network. Faced with such military potential and the fascist political will of the present Serbian leadership, Croatia has but one choice: alliance with the Bosnian state and people! Croatia has several times refused a friendly hand from the Islamic world—only because of Bosnia; however, it has been very open toward it lately.

The Bosnian Croat leaders have renounced those war criminals who were recently carrying out their orders! Therefore, although all agreements with Tudjman have up to now, to be honest, been empty words, the next ones must result in real breakthroughs, although the biggest one is to avoid unnecessary conflicts and neutralize ill will!

Things will go to their end, only in order to reach the beginning!

UN Troops Start Withdrawing From Zepa

LD0308110495 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1046 GMT 3 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, August 2 (TANJUG)—The United Nations said Wednesday UN peacekeepers had begun to pull out from Zepa after the French Government ordered its troops to leave the region.

France ordered its troops to leave Zepa by Thursday morning, UN spokesman in Sarajevo Aleksandr Ivanko said.

News agencies quoted UN sources as saying that two civilian officials would remain in the Bosnian Serb political center of Pale to determine the fate of Muslims who have refused to surrender.

The UN said about 3,000 Muslims were hiding in nearby hills.

Ivanko said the UN believed some 1,000 Muslims had fled Zepa and crossed into the Yugoslav republic of Serbia seeking refuge.

Bosnian Serb forces in mid-July entered Zepa, then a Muslim enclave that should have been demilitarized back in 1993.

Bosnian Muslims, however, had been using the UN-designated "safe area" as a military base for launching attacks on Bosnian Serb civilian targets and army positions in the region.

Serbs Capture Negotiators

AU0108210695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 1 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The cabinet of Minister Hasan Muratovic today issued a statement, which reads as follows:

Negotiations on the exchange of prisoners and the evacuation of all those remaining on the territory of the Zepa municipality are in progress. In addition to the fact that the Serb representatives are dragging their feet, the problem is that our authorities in Sarajevo

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do not know the Zepa representatives' stands because the Serb aggressor side is holding prisoner all the negotiators who showed up at the latest meeting with the aggressor's General Mladic in Zepa. Since that time, our government does not know the stands of the Zepa authorities and it cannot contact them. The UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] and the International Committee of the Red Cross are requested to make urgent contact with the remaining Zepa population. For the time being, the Serb aggressor side is banning both the Red Cross and UNPROFOR from the area, and without this there is no way to agree the details of the exchange and evacuation. The Zepa population is asked not to succumb to psychological pressure and to communicate solely through tried and tested UNPROFOR representatives and the ICRC when they visit them.

Radio Reports Serb Attacks in Bihac Region

AU0308094495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 3 Aug 95

[Report by Muhamed Mulic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Text] Since this morning, after carrying out fierce artillery preparations, the aggressor has launched infantry breakthroughs in the region of Mt. Grmec, the territory of [name indistinct] and (Hrgar), within the Bihac protected zone. With an intensive response by the fighters of the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the enemy forces were pushed back to their initial positions.

Meanwhile, after regrouping, the aggressor again attempted unsuccessful attacks on the firm and stable defense lines of our fighters.

There is no peace in the region of Velika Kladusa Municipality either, particularly in the general regions of Todorovo, Pecigrad, and Golubovici, where the joint aggressor forces are attempting breakthroughs deep into the free regions of Una-Sana Canton, along with shelling of the region. These attacks are helped by Martic's Chetniks with all kinds of artillery [word indistinct], as well as with the infantry that is not withdrawing from the territory of Una-Sana Canton.

The enemy used artillery from the so-called Serb Krajina to shell (Strzac) and Turlici. Villages on the free territory of Bihac Canton were also attacked. They suffered great material damage and several civilians have been wounded.

The enemy is also not calm on the territory of Mt. Pljesevica, where he has been unsuccessfully attacking the defense positions of the Croatian Defense Council of the Bihac region.

Muslims Continue Attacks

LD0208190995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1830 GMT 2 Aug 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, Aug 2 (TANJUG)—the Bosnian Serb Army command said Wednesday that Muslims continued attacking Serb defences from the UN-protected area of Bihac in the west of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The command said that Muslims stepped up their infantry attacks following the onslaught on Grahovo and Glamoc in the southwest by Croatia's regular army. The Croatian attacks were repelled and the enemy suffered great losses, it added.

According to the same source, Serb troops fully control the situation on the lines of separation on the Grahovo-Glamoc front and Serb refugees from Grahovo and Glamoc have started returning home. The Bosnian Serb army also said that the situation on the Herzegovina front was relatively calm on Tuesday evening and Wednesday morning after the Serb counter-attack on Mt. Treskavica and the expulsion of Muslim troops from Hum, Kragujevac and Cardak villages. Bosnian Serbs inflicted heavy losses on the Muslims, it said and added that the remaining Muslim troops had fled deep into the territory under their control.

On the Srbobran-Kupres front in the southwest, Serb troops on Wednesday repelled a combined Muslim artillery-infantry attack near the village of Demirovac and inflicted heavy losses on the enemy. Serb troops have also energetically responded to Muslim attacks on Mt. Ozren and on the Trebava front in northern Bosnia, the Bosnian Serb army said.

On Tuesday night and Wednesday morning, Croat and Muslim troops fired from artillery and small weapons on Serb positions on Mt. Majevia in the northeast, but the Serb lines have remained intact, the same source said.

Death Toll Rising

AU0208172395 Paris AFP in English 1636 GMT 2 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 2 (AFP)—The death rate in Bihac hospital has soared in recent weeks because of a severe shortage of medicine in the besieged northwestern Bosnian enclave, the hospital director said Wednesday [2 August].

"The mortality rate has increased fivefold over the last few weeks simply because there are is no more

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basic medicine," director Bekir Tatlic said in an appeal for emergency medical aid. "We only have stocks for two days," he added. "The hospital desperately needs analgesics, antibiotics, blood dialysis machines and antitetanus serum," as well as "more nourishing food," he said.

The government-held pocket, with its 200,000 inhabitants, has been surrounded by allied Serb forces from Bosnia and Croatia for the past three years. Joining them are rebel Moslems loyal to a local warlord. Only a trickle of humanitarian aid bound for Bihac has been allowed to pass through Serb-held territory.

Radio: Serbs Attacking Gorazde 'Incesssantly'

AU0308113895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 3 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Karadzic's Chetniks have been incessantly attacking the free regions of the Gorazde District. All populated places of this protected zone and our fighters defense positions have been targeted by enemy artillery and other weapons. Here is Mustafa Kurtovic reporting from Gorazde:

[Kurtovic] Particularly fierce artillery operations were registered on the right bank of the Drina River, where [word indistinct] Chetniks pounded our lines on (Tovarice) and Mali Otok from (Tiker) with 82-mm mortars. This was the aggressor's [words indistinct] of the Karadzic's Chetniks on this section of the front. Members of the 81st Division of the Republic of Bosnia- Herzegovina and the Ministry of Internal Affairs launched a counterattack in which they once again showed their full combat readiness to the [word indistinct] from the hill and repulsed many of their attacks. On the Foca section of the front, Ropoc, Glavica, and (Grdjeva Glava) were exposed to attacks. The Chetniks pounded these regions with antiaircraft guns and M-84 machineguns from (Nekupi) and Ljeskova Ravan. They also used an antiaircraft machine gun to fire from [name indistinct] on (Ptetojevici). Snipers from Satna were seeking new victims in the districts of (Djindjici) and Vranici. However, according to data provided by the Service [words indistinct], there were no casualties during the night and this morning.

Army Reports on Military Situation in Sarajevo

AU0308111595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 3 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The firm and stable defense of the newly attained lines of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the aggressor's failed attempts to move his forces into attacks (?and combat operations) are typical of the current situation around Sarajevo. Hesitating to launch an organized infantry assault due to the considerable losses he has suffered recently, the Serbian-Montenegrin aggressor yesterday used long-range artillery to shell our fighters' positions and populated places deep in the free territory on the Treskavica, Trnava, and Crna Rijeka fronts. However, there have been no serious consequences, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Press Center has reported.

In well-prepared and efficiently conducted operations on the (?Crna Rijeka) front, the fighters of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army destroyed several fire positions and facilities [word indistinct] on aggressor's positions. It is obvious that the Chetniks' losses in manpower and military hardware have not been merely symbolic.

Further on, the announcement says that, in the Sarajevo region, the aggressor fired with the heaviest artillery at our defenders' positions, civilian buildings, and (?the population) in some parts of the city at irregular intervals.

The aggressor used the heaviest shells to target the region of [name indistinct], Brekin Potok, Jevrejsko Groblje, and the region of the Stari Grad Municipality, at which guided Malyutka missiles were also fired.

Due to (?sudden operations) by the aggressor, we warn citizens to be extremely cautious and to comply with all self-protection measures, the announcement issued by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Press Center says.

Serb Aircraft Returns After NATO Warning

AU0208155395 Paris AFP in English 1455 GMT 2 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Naples, Italy, Aug 2 (AFP)—A Serb aircraft Wednesday [2 August] defied NATO's no-fly zone over Bosnia but turned back after NATO aircraft enforcing operation Deny Flight issued a warning, a NATO spokesman in Naples said. "One aircraft took off from Ubdina airfield and crossed the border to Bosnia. A warning was issued by an AWACS plane and the aircraft turned back," NATO spokesman Captain Paul Mitchell said.

NATO first spotted the aircraft leaving the air base at 10:00 a.m. (08:00 GMT). It turned around and returned to the Ubdina base, in the Serb-controlled Croatian territory of Krajina, around 10:45 a.m., he said.

Other planes which took off from the base did not enter Bosnia, Mitchell said, adding that operation Deny Flight only applies to Bosnian airspace and not Croatian airspace. On Tuesday, NATO reported air raids on targets in Croatia by Serb aircraft from Ubdina. Some

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"small attacks" were also carried out in Bosnia. "Yesterday, there was apparent use of aircraft in Croatia and a little bit in Bosnia," Mitchell said.

He said one plane was seen inside Bosnian airspace, but that it landed in Banja Luka, northwest Bosnia, before NATO could react.

The defence minister of the self-proclaimed Bosnian-Croat republic of Herzeg-Bosnia said that Serb aircraft carried out air raids Wednesday on Croat positions in southwest Bosnia.

UN: 3,000 Serb Refugees Flee Toward Banja Luka

AU0308110195 Paris AFP in English 1040 GMT 3 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, August 3 (AFP)—Three thousand Serbs from towns recently captured by Croat forces in southwest Bosnia have taken to the road in an exodus that aid officials described as the biggest movement of Serb refugees in the war.

A column of cars, trucks, and livestock stretching for over a kilometer (mile) was seen on the road leading from Mrkonjic Grad, a Serb-held town where the refugees first sought safety, towards the Serb stronghold of Banja Luka further north, UN official Mons Nyberg said Thursday.

Nyberg said the movement was apparently "spontaneous" and the people taking their possessions with them were making their way to Banja Luka, the largest Serb held town in Bosnia.

A total of 13,000 people fled Glamoc and Grahovo in southwest Bosnia after the combined forces of regular Croatian Army and Bosnian Croat militia [Croatian Defense Council—HVO] seized the towns last Friday.

"We don't have exact numbers of the column but over 3,000 people appeared to have moved so far in this exodus," said Nyberg, a spokesman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

He said the movement was the biggest displacement of Serbs in the three-year Bosnian war. Most of those displaced from their homes during the war have been Moslems chased by Bosnian Serbs from their homes in northern and eastern Bosnia, the areas where Serb forces have the largest swathes of Bosnian territory.

Karadzic Demands FRY Help Against Croatia

AU0308151195 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 2 Aug 95

[Report by Zorica Lolic with statements by Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Bosnian Serb Republic, and Milan Martic, leader of the Republic of Serb Krajina, following a meeting in Drvar, Bosnia-Herzegovina, on 1 Aug—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Lolic] The session of the joint defense council of the Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina in Drvar ended late last night. Apart from the two presidents, Dr. Radovan Karadzic and Milan Martic, Serb Republic Vice President Dr. Biljana Plavsic, chairmen of assemblies Momcilo Krajisnik and Rajko Lezajic, Prime Ministers Dusan Kozic and Milan Babic, and government ministers attended the session.

After the session, which lasted several hours and was held behind closed doors, our president said the following to reporters:

[Karadzic] Well, you see, there is a new element [passage indistinct] is the [passage indistinct] Croatia became involved in the [passage indistinct] in Bosnia-Herzegovina, with great forces; naturally, its intention is to (?conquer) the Republic of Serb Krajina, but in this case it is waging war on the territory of the Serb Republic, that is, in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, and we were forced to, in [passage indistinct] of the joint defense council, and to analyze the situation, so we made certain decisions relating to joint defense. We are determined to oppose Croatia and our enemies in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Croatian Defense Council and the Muslim [Bosnia-Herzegovina] army. We believe that the international community must condemn and punish Croatia's behavior, and, on the other hand, we have sent an appeal to all the volunteers and all our military conscripts who left for the FRY [passage indistinct], since it has never happened in the history of the world that such a small part of one people is fighting, with their hands tied and under double sanctions, against an enemy twice its size. Croatia has about 4 million people, the Muslim-Croat Bosnia has about two and one-half million people, and there are only 1.6 to 1.7 million of us.

[Lolic] Milan Martic, the Republic of Serb Krajina president, said the following to the reporters:

[Martic] After the aggression that the Croatian regular army carried out in cooperation with the Croat army and the Muslims, it is completely normal that we should consider the issues concerning our one people and see how we should go about resolving the situation.

[Lolic] The next question that the reporters asked was whether in this case the help of the FRY was expected.

[Karadzic] Yugoslavia should help us in all the ways that it can, since this is really no longer a civil war; this is a war of aggression, and, on the other hand, we never accepted the disintegration of Yugoslavia, we consider ourselves part of Yugoslavia, we did not accept

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the unilateral secessions of the Croats and Muslims and Yugoslavia should find a way to help us.

[Lolic] The entire international community, as well as Yugoslavia, must react more severely to the aggression,

[Karadzic] ...because this is nothing else but continuation of World War II and an attempt to create a Greater Croatia with the help of part of the international community and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Muslims. Naturally, [passage indistinct] means independent Croatia and [passage indistinct] do not accept this; we believe that Yugoslavia must prevent the creation of a Greater Croatia, that is, it must prevent genocide against the Serbs.

[Lolic] After the session of the joint defense council of the Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina, President Karadzic, Mr. Krajisnik, and Dr. Biljana Plavsic talked to the presidents of the western Krajina municipalities.

Demands Liberation of Glamoc

LD0208225295 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2144 GMT 2 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 2 Aug (SRNA)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic, said in Banja Luka this evening that the most important military task at present is the liberation of the occupied municipalities of Glamoc and Grahovo, and, in a joint action with the Krajina Serb Army, of the Dinara range, as well as lifting the blockade of Knin.

The aim of the latest Croatian aggression is to help the Muslims and Croats exterminate and expel the Serbs, and to take over the entire region of former Bosnia-Herzegovina, thus creating a new situation on the ground, which would enable the international community to hand over Bosnia to Croatia, in the same way it handed it over to Austo-Hungarian Empire in 1878 after the Berlin Congress, Karadzic added.

"Apart from counteroffensives and the liberation of Kupres, Glamoc, Grahovo, and the Neretva Valley, and the widening of the northern corridor, we have no intention of undertaking any other actions," said the president of the Serb Republic, stressing that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia should have intervened after the Croatian forces entered the territory of the Serb Republic.

Karadzic said that one of the goals of the Croatian aggression is to link the Livno valley with Bihac, and to reach the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] borders by Novi Grad, thus separating the Serb Republic from the Republic of Serb Krajina. In that case, Knin would be treated as Croatia's internal problem, which would invalidate the Vance plan.

The president of the Serb Republic warned Croatia that the Serb Army is ready to intervene if Croatia attacks parts of Krajina, and added that the Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina will put up a defense as a single national territory.

Radovan Karadzic called on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to meet its obligations, at least to the Republic of Serb Krajina if not to the Serb Republic. This is because the obligations to Krajina stem from the Vance plan.

Explaining the reasons behind the state of war, the president said that beside the war of defense waged against the Muslims and Croatia, the Serbs must also fight Croatia's regular army which has launched an armed aggression against the Serb Republic.

In the president's words, the character of the civilian authorities is not changing since military command bodies are doing their job in close cooperation with the civilian authorities via the wartime presidencies in the republic and at the level of municipalities.

Apart from Radovan Karadzic, tonight's talks with the presidents of the wartime presidencies and the presidents of executive councils were also attended by Vice Presidents Biljana Plavsic and Nikola Koljevic, and Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the People's Assembly.

Mladic Issues Statement on Croat Aggression

LD0208213795 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2016 GMT 2 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 2 Aug (SRNA)—Lieutenant Colonel General Ratko Mladic, commander of the General Staff of the Serb Republic Army [VRS], today submitted the following statement to the press office of the VRS General Staff in connection with the aggression by the regular forces of the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) in the areas of Mount Dinara, Mount Sator, Glamoc, and Grahovo.

"This section of the front has been active since November last year, when forces of the Croatian Defense Council (HVO) and the regular Croatian Army started their offensive-like actions along the Livno-Glamoc and Livno-Grahovo lines.

"These actions were stepped up in the past few months, with reinforcement provided by units from Imotski, Metkovic, Split, Dubrovnik, Makarska, Varazdin, Jastrebarsko, Trogir, Sinj, Bjelovar, Krizevci, Zagreb,

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Vinkovci, and other Croatian towns. These units have been engaged in both the 'Orasje pocket' and here.

"Our misconception that the war with the Croats was over and that it would all end within days has turned out to be wrong. After all the good things we have done for the Croatian people in central Bosnia, evacuating them all from the threatened areas of Vares, Zepce, and Bugojno, it turns out that the aim of their actions was clearly the attack on Kupres and then on Glamoc and Grahovo.

"Our entire public, especially the people in these areas, are now convinced that the Croats should never be trusted.

"The Croatian participation in the war has been continuous since 1992, since they started the war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, from Orasje through Posavina toward Doboj, and from Sinj and Livno toward Kupres. They successfully concealed their participation with help from their mighty allies and mediators from Germanic countries, with Germany in the lead.

"However, with regard to the present events in these areas, the international community, regardless of what face it has been showing, can now definitely no longer keep its eyes closed to the aggression of the Croatian armed forces against the Republic of Serb Krajina.

"General Rupert Smith and I exchanged views and agree that Croatia has carried out an act of aggression on our republic. There were some claims that they did this on the basis of the Split Declaration, and allegedly in accordance with Article 51 of the UN Charter, and that they have some kind of legality on their side.

"In any event, this gives us the possibility of using this same article and calling on some third country to resolve both our and its own goals in this area."

Commenting on the embargo and NATO threats, Gen. Mladic said:

"The arms embargo against the Muslims and Croats has never existed. These are just hollow phrases which conceal the participation of some big power centers.

"Only Srebrenica and Zepa have been defined as 'safe zones,' clearly limited as per the signed framework agreements of April and May 1993. Unfortunately, the international community and those who advise such decisions have failed to try and act in keeping with the agreements and the demilitarization of these 'safe zones.'

"They have turned into terrorist bases against our people in the Bosnian Serb Republic. The zones of Bihac, Sarajevo, and Tuzla were not defined as 'safe zones,' while Gorazde is defined in such a way that in the 3 kms around the town there should not be any Muslim weapons or any military activity.

"The NATO pact has no legal basis to extend itself beyond the national territory of the countries which form it and to threaten a fresh use of force. Last night a joint session was held of the military leadership of the Bosnian Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], at which the military-political situation in this area was assessed.

"Among other things, a joint standpoint was adopted that, in the 'Bihac pocket' there is a war going on between Muslims loyal to Fikret Abdic and Muslims loyal to Alija Izetbegovic. The international community ought to understand that this is an inter-Muslim war, and it should not blame the Serbs for this conflict."

Speaking about the flight of extremists from Zepa and Srebrenica, Gen. Mladic said:

"Some of the armed bands from Srebrenica and Zepa crossed into the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. We have requested that the escaped Muslim soldiers be handed over to us on the basis of an agreement with the Muslim side dated 24 July 1995, the signing of which was attended by representatives of international organizations.

"I hope they will be handed over to the Serb Republic, so we can exchange them for our imprisoned combatants and people wishing to leave the territories under Muslim control. Among them are a number of criminals who have committed crimes against Serb people and members of the former Yugoslav People's Army in 1992, and they will have to answer for such crimes.

"I therefore hope that our demand will meet with understanding in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and that these people will be handed over to the Serb Republic authorities in exchange for our prisoners.

"My message to the Serb people and soldiers is to remain firm at this moment in time, and I hope that we will overcome this problem. The VRS will do everything in its power to recapture the occupied territories and restore peace and freedom in the area," said Gen. Mladic.

Urges FRY To Return Muslims

AU0208205995 Paris AFP in English 2043 GMT 2 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 2 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb Army Chief General Ratko Mladic Wednesday [2 August] called on Yugoslavia to hand over government soldiers from eastern Bosnia who fled

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there earlier this week, the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA reported.

"Armed Moslem gangs from Srebrenica and Zepa have arrived in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY—Serbia and Montenegro). We've called on the FRY to hand over these soldiers in accordance with the agreement signed with the Moslem side on July 24," Mladic said.

In turn, they would be exchanged for Serbs captured by government troops and for civilians who wanted to leave areas under government control, Mladic added.

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) confirmed Wednesday that several hundred Moslems, fleeing the former Moslem enclaves of Zepa and Srebrenica which fell to Bosnian Serb forces last month, had arrived in Serbia.

According to the Serbian Information Ministry the new arrivals were Bosnian Government soldiers.

On Tuesday, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic told his Bosnian counterpart Alija Izetbegovic in a letter that "your soldiers have not been greeted as enemies, but as men, as neighbours who have been plunged into turmoil."

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Tudjman's Special Envoy on U.S. Perception

LD0208220895 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 1 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Miomir Zuzul, President Tudjman's special envoy and ambassador to the UN in Geneva, and Croatian Ambassador in Washington Petar Sarcevic yesterday had talks with Richard Holbrooke, the U.S. secretary of state's deputy, and Robert Frasure, U.S. representative in the Contact Group. They discussed the current state of affairs. Miomir Zuzul will join us over the phone. Good evening, Mr. Zuzul. Could you assess your talk with Mr. Holbrooke and Mr. Frasure?

[Zuzul] We tried during the course of these talks to thoroughly review in a rather open way the current situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. I believe that there is a full awareness on the U.S. side that the Croatian action in Bosnia-Herzegovina is necesary. If Bihac had fallen, everything would be considerably different. There is, in fact, an understanding that this operation has brought about a new situation which might facilitate better negotiations in the future and a better overall outcome.

[Announcer] Did Russia demand that the UN Security Council debate the Croatian Army's involvement in Bosnia-Herzegovina? What does that mean?

[Zuzul] This Russian demand has been in circulation on an almost permanent basis. This time the Russians even put forward a draft presidential statement, which was pretty strong in character and which almost condemned Croatia. However, this draft did not meet with the approval of the other members of the UN Security Council. It was the United States in particular which rejected this draft, so it was not accepted. There was no presidential statement.

[Announcer] How did the problem of NATO action around Bihac reflect on your talks? What is the U.S. opinion on this matter?

[Zuzul] There is a feeling here, both within the U.S. Administration and in Congress—and the Senate as well, and among the general public—that this Croatian operation was welcome because it prevented the fall of Bihac and averted a catastrophe which might have taken place had Bihac fallen. Whether NATO will react in the Bihac area—frankly speaking, I doubt it. Even in those situations which appeared more drastic, NATO failed to demonstrate enough resolve to react. I believe that everything will continue in the same manner as it has in recent days.

[Announcer] What do you think the Contact Group—Carl Bildt and the representatives of European governments—will achieve at their meeting with Mr. Tarnoff, the secretary of state's aide?

[Zuzul] Our view on this one is pretty clear. We maintain that the new proposal being tabled by Mr. Bildt does not include those elements which might lead to a solution of the crisis in the Bosnia-Herzegovina area. In other words, it does not provide an answer to any of the questions which generate the crisis. We believe that it is too defined in general terms—it is too global—and that it does not focus on the real problems. In short, it is only Milosevic who can take advantage of it. This is why the Republic of Croatia has clearly articulated its view on this plan—it is something that, we believe, should not be met with support, as we simply do not believe that it can lead to a solution.

Sanader Wants 'Peaceful Solution' in Krajina

AU0208210695 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2000 GMT 2 Aug 95

["Telephone" interview with Croatian Deputy Foreign Minister Ivo Sanader by Ingrid Thurnher "shortly before the beginning of the newscast;" Sanader's location not noted—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Sanader] I would say that we all know what kind of situation the Republic of Croatia has been in since 1991. The situation has become somewhat tense recently, particularly on the front lines with the occupied territories as a result of the well-known situation and the developments in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the areas close to the Croatian border. The region of the Istrian peninsula and the islands in the northern Adriatic are safe, and these are the most popular destinations of Austrian tourists.

[Thurnher] Mr. Minister, is it not a drastic diplomatic measure for the Austrian chancellor to say that people should not go to Croatia on vacation, and could this not also lead to some ill-feelings between Zagreb and Vienna?

[Sanader] Well, I would not put it that way. It is, of course, only fair for Federal Chancellor Vranitzky to describe the situation in the way that he considers right. As far as I am concerned, I would say that the Istrian peninsula and the islands in the northern Adriatic are safe.

[Thurnher] President Tudjman has repeatedly emphasized that he wanted to reconquer the Serb-occupied Krajina with military means. How great is the danger of a war right now in your opinion?

[Sanader] President Tudjman, just like the entire Croatian Government, including the Foreign Ministry, has

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always stressed that we want a peaceful solution—that is, a peaceful reintegration of the occupied territories into the Croatian legal and constitutional system. I certainly hope that we will solve everything through peaceful means.

[Thurnher] Yet you do not seem to be so absolutely sure, because you would not have concentrated such enormous forces on the border with Krajina.

[Sanader] You are absolutely right. There is an old Latin saying: Si vis pacem, para bellum—if you want peace, prepare for war. In this sense, Croatia is acting just like any other sovereign state of this world would.

Official Calls On Knin People to Disown Leaders

LD0208171395 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 2 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Ahead of the Geneva negotiations, Petar Pasic, commissioner of the government of the Republic of Croatia for Knin, today sent an open letter to citizens of Serb nationality in Knin. Approaches to the town of Knin have of late been barricaded to prevent its citizens from fleeing the already visible chaos.

Your time is almost up, but it may still not be too late to turn your back on the confirmed criminals—your leaders—who are leading you to suffering and to hell, Pasic says in his letter calling on the citizens to accept the peace-loving Croatian negotiating hand in Geneva and to disown their rebel authorities, accepting the Republic of Croatia as their only homeland.

Can you not see the suffering of those evicted from Srebrenica and Zepa? Can you not see the suffering of your compatriots from Glamoc and Grahovo, Pasic says in his letter warning the citizens of Knin of the suffering to which they too may be exposed in the very near future, because, as he says, Croatia's patience has been exhausted and it finally wishes to live under normal, peaceful, and civilized circumstances as an integral state that was recognized by the international community a long time ago. Many of you have not seen your daughters, sons, and fathers. Are you thinking about them, Pasic stresses calling on those who are not tarnished by crimes committed by their leaders to show reason and conscience and openly and clearly stand on the side of the Republic of Croatia.

Babic, U.S. Ambassador Discuss Croatian Moves

LD0308084895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0015 GMT 3 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 3 Aug (TANJUG)—Late yesterday evening U.S. Ambassador to Zagreb Peter Galbraith met with Milan Babic, the newly appointed prime minister of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], at the former's request, says a statement issued by the information service of the RSK Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Galbraith conveyed "his government's concern over events in the Bihac pocket and, as he said, the consequences caused by them, and showed interest in negotiations between delegations of the RSK and Croatia which are beginning in Geneva today," says the statement which was forwarded to TANJUG.

The RSK prime minister "said that as far as he knows the Serb Krajina army is not present in the Bihac pocket and that it is not taking part in the fighting in that area." He also stressed that the "Croatian aggression on Serb Grahovo and its hurried mobilization are the main threats to peace."

Babic asked Ambassador Galbraith if the U.S. Government could influence Croatia so that peace can be restored.

The statement says that Babic agreed to meet with the U.S. ambassador only after consultations with Milan Martic, president of the Republic of Serb Krajina, and Serb Krajina army commander General Mile Mrksic; the statement does not say where the meeting was held.

RSK Interior Minister Reviews Situation

AU0308084295 Petrinja Srpski Radio Krajina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 2 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] RSK Interior Minister Toso Pajic held a meeting in Knin today to view the current security situation, duties, and tasks of the Ministry of the Interior in light of the present circumstances, stated the Information Service of the Ministry of the Interior. The conclusion of the meeting attended by officials of the Interior Ministry and the State Security was that bodies of the Interior Ministry should be fully involved in all tasks defending the Republic of Serb Krajina together with the Serb Army.

Bodies of the Interior Ministry throughout the Republic of Serb Krajina carry out all duties and tasks in their jurisdiction and enjoy full support of citizens. Furthermore, it was said that the curfew is also respected in full. The Interior Ministry will inform and instruct the public through the media about all relevant information regarding personal safety of citizens and their property in good time, stated the Information Service of the RSK Interior Ministry.

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RSK General Staff Denounces Croatia's Behavior

Mrksic Protests to UN

AU0308083895 Petrinja Srpski Radio Krajina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 2 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In reaction to a protest by the Croatian side which claims that members of the RSK [Republic of Serb Kraijina] Army targeted the wider area as well as the town of Gospic itself, the RSK Army General Staff lodged a protest with UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] about Croatia's behavior, stated the RSK State Information Pool. The protest underlines that members of the RSK Army did not target the Gospic area.

Registering a protest with UNPROFOR commander General Janvier, Lieutenant General Mile Mrksic, RSK Army commander-in-chief, says: "Remember that every time before attacking the Republic of Serb Krajina, the Croatian side was trying to find any kind of justification to begin the aggression." The RSK Army commander-in-chief specifies that the Croatian side does so by staging incidents, using tricks to deceive the Croats as well as UNPROFOR representatives and the wider international community, emphasizing that, in this particular case, Croatia is trying to find justification for an act of aggression against the Republic of Serb Krajina that was announced long time ago.

Gen Mrksic expressed hope that the international community would not fall for provocations of the Republic of Croatia. The protest letter of the RSK Army General Staff demands that the UNPROFOR command do everything in its power to prevent a Croatian aggression against Krajina and to inform the Security Council and the UN.

Targets for 'Retaliation'

AU0308083695 Petrinja Srpski Radio Krajina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 2 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday, the Croatian Army and the Croatian Defense Council from the temporarily occupied Grahovo area continued shelling the wider area of the village of Strmica. The Ustashas targeted Serb defense lines on Mt. Dinara and used projectiles with poison-gas charges, the RSK [Republic of Serb Krajina] Army General Staff Information Service states.

The villages of Cetina and Jezevik, in the Vrlika area, have again come under mortar attack. Units of the RSK Army Northern Dalmatia Corps are holding the defense lines firmly and responding sharply to every enemy attack, inflicting heavy losses in manpower and hardware.

The Croatian aggressor from the Tvrdjavice area, from Podravlje, in the (?Osijek) area, used small arms to target Serb positions in Baranja. The Croatian side is carrying out a full-scale mobilization and is regrouping its military hardware. This is yet further proof that the Croatian side is preparing to attack the RSK.

Yesterday, in the RSK Army Banija Corps theater of operations, members of the 5th Corps of the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina Army fired several mortar shells. There were no casualties, the RSK Army General Staff Information Service states.

The statement issued by the RSK Army General Staff Information Service says that it has reliable information that the command of the Croatian Army 4th Guards Brigade [gardijska brigada] of Split fell apart due to the loss of its commanding officers and soldiers on the Grahovo front. The statement reveals that the representatives of the Dalmatian Action and a large number of inhabitants of Split, parents of dead and wounded soldiers, are bitter and demand to know what their sons were doing in the Serb towns of Grahovo and Glamoc, especially as Croatian geopoliticians publicly wonder the same.

The statement also says that reliable sources in Croatia reported that Croatian women held a rally of protest in the center of Virovitica. Mothers of Croatian soldiers brought their children along as well. They fear an action by the RSK Air Force that would result in heavy casualties.

Members of the RSK Army General Staff stated that there is no reason to disturb the inhabitants of Croatian towns. We believe conflicts should be solved by political means and in a peaceful manner, the statement emphasizes. Furthermore, it says that the real goal of the Croatian policy, identical to that of World War II from 1941 to 1945—to exterminate or expel the Serbs from their land west of the Drina River—was exposed in the past couple of days. Moreover, the policy plans to subjugate the Muslim population. Croatia saw a chance to realize those intentions and has for years been presenting a thesis about the so-called greater Serbia, while laboring to create a greater Croatia modeled on the infamous Independent State of Croatia from the past war, the statement says, and adds that the Croats will not realize their goal as long as the Serbs exist.

The statement ends by saying that, if the RSK is attacked, the retaliation would destroy selected military targets in the Republic of Croatia. These would also include targets deep in the territory of the Republic of Croatia, in keeping with the system of September 1993, the RSK Army General Staff underlines. The list of military targets in the Republic of Croatia includes a

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building of the General Staff and the Defense Ministry of the Republic of Croatia in Zagreb, commands of all Croatian Army military districts in the country, commands of Guards [gardijske jedinice] and other units of the Croatian Army, commands of Home Guard regiments [domobranske pukovnije], military airports, and ammunition depots. The RSK Army General Staff sent a detailed list of those targets to UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] and citizens of the Republic of Croatia were also informed about it, the statement by the RSK Army General Staff Information Service says.

Krajina Serbs: Croats Using 'Poison Gas Shells'

LD0208152195 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1514 GMT 2 Aug 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Knin, Aug. 2 (TANJUG)—Regular Croatian Army units deployed on Mt. Dinara in southwestern Bosnia have used poison gas shells, the Serb Krajina Army command said on Wednesday.

The Serb Krajina Army said that joint Croat and Bosnian Croat forces in occupied Grahovo are continuing the shelling of the village of Strmica.

Croatia's aggression on the southwestern part of the Bosnian Serb Republic last Friday resulted in its occupying the Serb villages of Grahovo and Glamoc, from where it is now launching artillery attacks on civilian targets in the Republic of Serb Krajina.

The Serb Krajina Army command in the town of Knin also warned that Croatia has stepped up mobilization in its territory.

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Assembly Deputy Describes Problems With NDP

95BA0260A Skopje PULS in Macedonian 26 May 95 p 22

[Interview with Assembly Deputy Abdulnadi Vejseli by Branko Geroski; place and date not given: "There Is No Time for Political Commotion"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The youngest deputy among the Albanians in parliament explains to PULS the reasons why he left the ranks of the party in which he was the chief financier, and responds to the speculations about his alleged closeness to the PDP [Party of Democratic Prosperity].*

Abdulnadi Vejseli (born in 1964), director of the private enterprise Ata-Komerc in Tetovo and the youngest deputy among the Albanians in parliament, together with Deputy Mersel Biljali, recently renounced his "love" for the People's Democratic Party [NDP], crossing over into the camp of independent deputies.

[Geroski] Some people familiar with the Albanian political scene claim that you still have not explained your real motives for leaving the NDP. Is that true?

[Vejseli] I initially explained my departure from the NDP a little for the public, and then for a while I was not interested in unnecessary drama. Why? Because this "unusual step" did not happen hastily, and was instead well considered and weighed. My motives for joining the NDP really were pure. I was carried away by a special enthusiasm about participating in democratic processes, and at the same time contributing to the consolidation of a political organization, because I also had solid financial resources. I thus gave the NDP inestimable assistance. That was primarily so that for a while the NDP could conduct essential party and campaign activities without interruption. I do not regret the good that I did for this party. During the past year, after the elections, I came to believe that the pillars of this party were somehow being rapidly destroyed: the dissipation of the membership because of their disappointment over life in the "consistent opposition," decisionmaking within narrow circles on specific narrow interests, the incomplete structure of the organization, and other shortcomings. At the electoral meeting of the Tetovo branch, it could be seen how far this party had gone. Specifically, that meeting was marked by elections of "tekbir," [technical bureau] of two or three "party officials," who did not receive the confidence of the party rank-and-file, but were elected to top places in the party structure. It is also logical that such a meeting tolerates or "blesses" even those who once attacked the party. All of that induced me to go up to the podium and express gratitude for my nomination for member of the Presidency, and to announce that I was leaving the NDP.

[Geroski] I assume that you are aware of the fact that by leaving the NDP, you are risking being accused of having one foot in Abdurahman Aliti's PDP....

[Vejseli] I have never done things halfway. The fact that Abdurahman Aliti and I were close friends for many years is being used to claim that I am also close to the PDP. Of course, I am not now ruling out the possibility of specific talks about my joining that party in its future work. Before that, however, I will consult my constituency.

[Geroski] You were one of the chief financiers of the NDP's election campaign. Was the money "thrown" into the campaign spent in vain, or did you use the NDP as a framework to finance your own political campaign, after which you also became a deputy?

[Vejseli] This party's social base was and is such that it obliged me to help financially, and in the election campaign I was very ambitious about our getting as many seats in parliament as possible. It was later seen, however, that some of those funds were not spent on the elections, but rather.... Let us understand each other; I perceive politics as an art, as communication. I did not have any need to make a name for myself, because I had gained recognition as a successful businessman and I did not enter politics with material goals.

[Geroski] In the elections, you defeated the famous Menduh Taci. After the elections, there was speculation among the "Tacists" that your close triumph over Taci was not entirely a "clean" one.

[Vejseli] If he had been "famous" then he would have won. For my part, I handled the competition very correctly, within the framework of the political, legal, and even moral rules. My opponent became "well-known" for vulgar things, with "simulated" support from his sympathizers, with the most vulgar slanders not only of me, but even against the electorate after he lost.

[Geroski] The heart of the NDP's election campaign was harsh accusations aimed at the PDP and its participation in the government, while at the same time advocating overcoming the dispute between Aliti's PDP and the "Tacists." In your opinion, can a party's political identity be built on the basis of the idea of uniting the Albanian political forces into one big one, even if just for elections?

[Vejseli] The accusations against the PDP were the style of individuals in the party leadership. There was a big shortcoming in those accusations—they were aimed at covering up the NDP's own weakness as a party.

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With respect to the advocacy of overcoming the dispute between the PDP and what was then the so-called faction, I do not know how successful or even consistent it was. Nevertheless, a big campaign organization has to be achieved if we, as the political representatives of the Albanians in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], disunited, do not succeed in achieving a more favorable status in this country and in this society. Now, the methods for achieving it and how it should function need to be elaborated jointly and approved. In order to have a united stand, it is also necessary to have a common platform. How much of their own political identity did the Macedonian parties lose when they merged into the Alliance for Macedonia? Nothing, and by merging they absolutely won the elections. We Albanians do not have time now for a political commotion in order to pay more attention to the "political identities" of the parties; instead, we have to support more effective political actions that will articulate our common political fate as a people within the framework of this state. Later on, perhaps we will be more interested in strict political identities.

[Geroski] All those people who were in a situation similar to yours faced a serious dilemma—their constituency voted for them as individuals, but at the same time also as representatives of a political party's platform. How much will this "adventure" cost you?

[Vejseli] In this case, there has to be a specific approach within the Albanian electorate. Perhaps independent deputies are unnecessary at this stage, because they separate the electorate from the political structure in which they are organized and it is hard for political orientations to become stabilized that way. In any event, the cases of the independents in the first parliamentary term are less comparable with the "adventure" that you are mentioning in my case.

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Okonski on Purchase of Planes, Bemowo Incident

LD0208123295 Warsaw Radio Zet Network in Polish 0610 GMT 2 Aug 95

[Studio interview of Defense Minister Zbigniew Okonski by correspondent Barbara Gorska — live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Gorska] The guest of Radio Zet today is Defense Minister Zbigniew Okonski. Good morning.

[Okonski] Good morning.

[Gorska] Minister, at the air show in Deblin on 27 August, we shall be able to see the American F-16 fighter planes in the air. Our Army is contemplating the purchase of new fighter planes. Is it the F-16 aircraft which is to replace the outdated MiG-21 planes?

[Okonski] We are facing a great problem and a very serious decision in the next few months, the next six months: namely, at the moment we have in our possession 220 MiG-21 planes, which will end their service in the coming two to three years. This means they will no longer be undergoing repairs and they will no longer be used. These planes will have to be replaced by modern planes, of course, by the best combat planes available in the world. However, we also have to take into account the economy.

At present, we are holding talks with four possible suppliers, including the U.S. Government among others, which initially made a very general offer. The proposal concerned the older versions, however. The Americans have a large fleet of this aircraft which is not in use, as after the end of the Cold War, when much money was spent on maintaining those planes, the need for it no longer exists. Thus, there now exists a large reserve of these planes. They could be modernized, overhauled, purchased at quite a low price, and then put into service.

The issue is which version we would receive and on what conditions. This will have to be negotiated. Yesterday, Minister Widnall, the U.S. Air Force secretary — there are separate ministries there, corresponding to specific armed forces — who paid a short visit to Poland, told me that the Americans would send their team of experts within 30 days. These experts, after having met our pilots and aircraft technology experts, will reveal all the technological details. This will be a very matter-of-fact and extensive discussion — not just a half-hour meeting, as yesterday.

We are also holding talks with suppliers from France. There is also a possibility of purchasing a similar type of plane from Sweden. We have another very attractive offer — I should not conceal this fact — from the Russian Federation, which would involve participation of Polish industry.

The decision will not, however, be taken at the ministerial level, but higher, at the governmental level, because this decision will have an impact on our policy with regard to the Air Force for a 20-year period. So it is a very significant issue.

[Gorska] The F-16 plane has been manufactured since 1975. Are we not contemplating purchasing outdated equipment?

[Okonski] Yes, that is a problem. If the offer concerns only the types of aircraft mentioned as recently as six months ago — the oldest versions — we shall not be interested, because it is not worth it. Even if we received these planes free, they would be free only in theory because the engines would have to be replaced, new electronic circuits would have to be installed, and the so-called flying constructions, the so-called platforms — as they are called in English — would remain old and, therefore, prone to stress. After some years, there would be technical problems that could weaken them.

[Gorska] The issue of modern standards is one thing. Another thing, perhaps more important, is the issue of money. Such a fighter plane, today's newspapers have reported, would cost about 1 billion [currency not specified]. The army would need 100 new fighter planes. How can you get hold of such an amount of money over a few years? This amount exceeds twenty-fold the Ministry of National Defense expenditure for all its equipment for a whole year.

[Okonski] Yes, it is an enormous problem, which we have to analyze in detail. The problem concerns not just the new types of planes. We have to modernize other types of weapons as well, for the ground forces and the navy. We are doing work, conducting research, and holding talks with potential suppliers of Western technologies. We want to give an impulse to the Polish defense industry. It is the Polish defense industry that should supply arms to the Polish Armed Forces — so we cannot make these decisions separately.

The government has now recommended to the commission, which was set up recently for this purpose, to examine our expectations with regard to modernization within the context of financial possibilities. This is quite difficult, as it is not easy to tell today how much money we shall be able to allocate from the budget in the year 2000 or 2002, what specific amounts of money we shall be able to earmark for the modernization of the Polish Armed Forces. Certain options are being worked out now, however. We should be ready by autumn.

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We shall have to make a firm statement as to what part of the gross domestic product we shall be able to allocate to the defense effort. I am of the opinion that you have to tell the public that it is in their long-term interest to modernize and arm the Polish army with the most modern technology so that we can achieve an element of reflection [as heard] and international respect here. History has shown us that other countries respect only someone who is strong.

[Gorska] Alright, but what good will the purchase of American, French, or Russian fighter planes do the Polish arms industry — the Mielec aircraft factory, for example?

[Okonski] There are already examples showing that the Polish arms industry has had certain benefits resulting from cooperation with suppliers of the most modern equipment. I can give you two examples. Two years ago and last year, contracts were signed with Western suppliers on very modern communications systems. The contracts covered the construction of the so-called radio lines and radio stations that will be produced in Poland based on these most modern technologies. Only from 20 to 30 percent of the value of this equipment is still imported, but this is done by the Polish supplier who can choose the best and the cheapest contractor abroad. Our supplier is responsible for the servicing of the equipment.

We can do a similar thing with regard to aircraft production. One must say that the Polish aircraft industry has a very good tradition. We have been constructing small planes ourselves.

Also, during the recent visit to Poland by Czech Defense Minister Holan, we talked about a possibility of cooperation between the Czech Republic and Poland in the area of the aviation industry, helicopters, and short-range combat planes. I cannot imagine that we would not gain certain benefits here for the Polish aircraft industry when decisions are made, and later, when the Polish Air Force is supplied with the most modern combat planes.

[Gorska] Mr. Minister, you have said that we intend to buy very modern combat aircraft. The Americans will reveal to us data that they did not want to reveal earlier. However, aren't these reports on the F-16 planes an element of propaganda that is designed to erase the memory of reports on the Su-22 black series? But we all remember that on the day when newspapers reported on the causes of the 11 July crash, another plane of the same type crashed and another man died. Experienced pilots have been killed.

[Okonski] This is a very serious concern to us. We must find a reason why this black series has happened this year. I would like to draw your attention, ladies and gentlemen, to the fact that there have been hardly any accidents in the past two to three years. There was one accident involving Iskra, but not on Polish territory. It happened in India. The pilots involved were over-tired after flying for too-long periods in tropical conditions.

There is an error in the system and we are trying to establish where it is located. The initial data show that in most of the cases when pilots died — leaving their families in grief and destroying the aircraft — army equipment has been diminished. It was human error on the part of the pilots, often experienced pilots. [passage omitted]

There was a certain conviction among our pilots with regard to their own capabilities — since there had been no accidents one, two, or three years ago — and perhaps that coincided with the fact that pilots have now less time available for combat training flights. This fact is connected with the financial situation. It is known that the defense ministry budget has been reduced by 60 percent over the past seven years. It is an immense difference.

Yesterday I also talked about this with Ms. Widnall, the U.S. Air Force secretary, and said that we should compare our experiences in the area of training and training programs, and perhaps have an exchange of our pilots to allow them to fly American planes either in Europe or in the United States. In this way they could have more flying hours — because you do need extensive practice.

[Gorska] Mr. Minister, the internal general staff commission, which investigated the circumstances of the robbery at the Bemowo barracks, has now completed its work. Its report says the robbery bore the signs of a terrorist attack. What does this really mean?

[Okonski] This is the first incident in when a group of criminals wearing masks — very well prepared from the logistical point of view, having a detailed knowledge of the place and the procedures there with regard to security involving weapons — committs such an audacious act and gets hold of 75 guns. This has greatly damaged the reputation of the Polish Army. I must say that we cannot describe it in any other way other than a terrorist attack.

[Gorska] The military experts who have published this report were also indignant with regard to the press. They said that journalists had presented a picture of a helpless Army and that this would encourage criminals to carry out similar actions. Do you also blame journalists?

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[Okonski] I think this had to happen. When that unusual incident occurred, and when certain irregularities were discovered — first by journalists, due to their journalistic instinct — and when there was negligence and a lack of concern on the part of people responsible for the security of the establishment, such comments had to be expected. This is a natural thing. Of course this does not help calm the situation. On the contrary, already the next day certain louts and hooligans, having had a few drinks, tried to get into Army barracks elsewhere. Only thanks to the presence of mind and good judgement of the situation by people doing the watch were there no deaths. [passage omitted]

[Gorska] Can you reassure the Poles today that dangerous weapons are well guarded in military stores and that terrorists stand no chance with the Army if they want to fight them?

[Okonski] I can say this very firmly.

[Gorska] Which military establishments will be guarded by civilian security firms?

[Okonski] When it comes to civilian firms, there are seven such establishments belonging to the Polish Army. My predecessors — I do not recall whether it was Minister Kolodziejczyk or Onyszkiewicz — issued appropriate instructions saying that if the establishment has only marginal significance for the readiness of the Armed Forces — for example some sort of a hospital, a school, or a store containing non-active materials — the commanders have to calculate what is more cost-efficient: whether to maintain a military watch or to employ a professional firm that has a licence granted by the Defense Ministry.

[Gorska] Mr. Minister, last week newspapers and weeklies gave your ministry rather merciless treatment. They said that the Army would soon set up gangs of mercenaries and possibly insure itself with Warta [insurance company] in case it loses the war. They even said that after Bemowo you should resign. Have you considered resigning?

[Okonski] This would mean choosing the easy way out. For me personally, it would probably be easier. I would not have to bear all this enormous responsibility. But by the same token, the health minister would have to resign in case of an unsuccessful surgical operation, or the internal minister would have to resign if a crime went undetected. Simply: The system has to be improved. I think that the reason is too insignificant for a civilian minister to resign. However, conclusions should be drawn from that. Such conclusions have been drawn and the security has been improved.

In fact, we had a feeling that something like that might happen. At the beginning of the year instructions were issued to commanders — we have evidence to prove it, although I do not want to justify myself here — and to the general staff. There was a certain feeling among the military commanders that there could be no attacks against the Army. Simply: Now the milk has been spilled. We must ensure that the [milk] jugs do not leak in the future, and that we do not jeopardize our standing and good reputation.

[Gorska] Thank you for the interview.

Kolodko on Drop in Prices, Role of National Bank

LD0208153595 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1005 GMT 2 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Finance Minister Grzegorz Kolodko has said that in July, for the first time in eight years, prices fell in Poland instead of rising, and a 0.5 percent drop has been registered.

[Correspondent Krystyna Koziol] The rise in prices over seven months reached 13 percent, according to the Finance Ministry. Grzegorz Kolodko, deputy prime minister and finance minister, said the July drop in prices resulted mainly from the government's anti-inflationary policy and the seasonal factor, which means that there is a drop in food prices in summer.

Kolodko stressed that we owe the drop in inflation mainly to the anti-inflationary policy of the government and the intervention on the agricultural market — among other things, as the seasonal factor occurs each year.

Kolodko firmly emphasized that when it comes to fighting inflation, everything now depends on the Polish National Bank. However, this calls for political will and professionalism on the part of this institution, which has financial instruments at its disposal. According to the deputy prime minister, if the central bank decides to join the anti-inflation crusade, the inflation rate this year, from December to December, will reach about 20 percent. If the central bank decides to join the anti-inflation fight with greater determination, inflation may even be brought down to 17 percent. If the Polish National Bank does not join the fight against inflation, the inflation rate will be several percentage points higher and could reach about 23 percent.

Kolodko accused the National Bank of lack of control over the excessive supply of money which results in rising inflation. He accused Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, the bank president, of not making an effort to restrict inflation because of what he described as her political entanglements.

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Karpinski: Jewish Council Will Not Dissolve

WS0108120795 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 29-30 Jul 95 p 2

[Report By "K.Gr.": "Manifestation of Racial Hatred in Election Campaigns Condemned; The Council Will Not Dissolve Before the End of Walesa's Term"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The presidential Council for Polish-Jewish Relations will continue to function despite the fact that three of its members have left. At a session held yesterday [28 July], the Council failed to reach an agreement on whether to dissolve or transform itself. "It was appointed by the president and only he can make a decision," says Council Secretary Marek Karpinski.*

Council members concluded yesterday that the Council will continue to exist until the end of Lech Walesa's current term.

In a final statement, they protested nationalist and racist hatred in the already launched election campaign — both overt and covert attacks on individuals and groups of people. Demands that candidates be honest about their political background and their past cannot provide a pretext for racist or anti-Semitic attacks," the Council announced.

Only 10 members took part in yesterday's session — less than half the total number. Secretary Marek Karpinski claims not everyone received an invitation to the session because it is the holiday season.

Professor Krystyna Kersten, Professor Jerzy Tomaszewski, and Marian Turski, who had withdrawn from the Council earlier, did not attend the session despite having received invitations. They excused themselves in a letter. "We came to the conclusion that the range of topics on the agenda is too broad for a serious discussion," Jerzy Tomaszewski told RZECZPOSPOLITA. He did not back out of charges he had raised earlier: "The Council has done practically nothing over the last year; therefore it has become a fiction."

The next Council session is scheduled for September. According to a PAP report, Foreign Minister Wladyslaw Bartoszewski, who is a Council member, intends to come forth with an initiative of establishing a Polish-Jewish forum.

'Solidarity' National Commission Sues Kwasniewski

WS0208144995 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 2 Aug 95 p 3

[Report by Alicja Ketrzynska in Gdansk: "Presidium of the 'Solidarity' National Commission: They Are Suing Kwasniewski"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Presidium of the "Solidarity" National Commission decided at a meeting held yesterday that the trade union will file a suit against Aleksander Kwasniewski. "Solidarity" accuses Kwasniewski of saying on 27 June in Jastrzebie: "'Solidarity' today stands for anti-Semitism, fascism, and boundless stupidity."

Father Jozef Maj, the patron of St. Catherine's Covenant, was invited to the session.

"After the recent events that took place within the Covenant, Father Maj wanted to give the presidium a first-hand account of the St. Catherine's Covenant primaries," said "Solidarity" Spokesman Piotr Zak. He said Father Maj confirmed to the presidium what he had previously told the media: that the vote was only a test and did not have much significance.

"Decisions are made by the Covenant through a unanimous vote; therefore if anyone even received 13 votes, it would not make him a presidential candidate," said Zak. The spokesman said the Covenant failed to attain all of its objectives, but has done a lot of good.

"Solidarity" will continue to organize meetings between rightist presidential candidates — the three from the Covenant plus Strzembosz and Walesa. The trade union will also support the traditional appeal of the Episcopate to followers to retain their sobriety. It will call on its members to refrain from drinking.

The referendum on protests to the law on the commercialization of state companies is still under way. The results will be known at the next session of the presidium, scheduled for 9 August.

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'Sources' Say Melescanu Next Ambassador to U.S.

AU0308101295 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 29 Jul 95 p 3

[Report by Bogdan Burileanu: "Teodor Melescanu's 'American' Hour Has Come"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The appointment of the successor to Ambassador Mihai Botez [who died recently] is an absolute priority on the presidential agenda—sources close to the presidency said. Selecting from the proposals made so far, President Iliescu is about to appoint our current foreign affairs minister, Mr. Teodor Melescanu, to that office. The reasons in favor of this choice are, as our sources said, complex. First, the increase in Foreign Minister Melescanu's popularity at home obviously inconveniences the presidential claims for supremacy. Second, Mr. Melescanu is not a member of the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania], and the ruling party's red allies [reference to the Romanian National Unity Party, Socialist Party of Labor, and the Greater Romania Party] openly accuse him of being too much of a European. Sending him on an "American trip"—so the person authorized to make such appointments believes—would also solve several other difficulties: the Americans would be delighted to have him as the new ambassador, the Russians would give a sigh of relief, seeing that the most ardent supporter (among the members of the government) of our euro-atlantic integration has been removed. Finally, the negotiation of the basic Romanian-Hungarian treaty could be resumed from the bottom line, putting the blame for the diplomatic failures registered so far on the future former minister, while the time period in which the treaty could be renegotiated would be prolonged without a foreseeable end.

As a matter of fact, the fashion of banishing foreign affairs ministers by "promoting" them as heads of diplomatic missions also comes from the East....

P.S. The postponement of the official decision in this issue—as the presidential spokesman said, the decision will be made after President Ion Iliescu returns to work from his vacation—seems to confirm the aforementioned information. How could Melescanu's new appointment be announced now, in the middle of the summer; a move that would render the cabinet incomplete? Autumn is the season when they evaluate the crops and count the dignitaries.

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Thaler Urges Caution on Travel to Croatia

AU0208153195 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 2 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] As we have already reported, the Slovene Foreign Ministry today warned the Slovene public that the security situation in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina was serious and advised against travel to the endangered regions.

The Ministry is in permanent contact with our embassy in Zagreb and with the Croatian authorities and is carefully monitoring developments in the crisis areas.

Our reporter Dusan Berne asked Foreign Minister Zoran Thaler to explain some details:

[Begin recording] [Berne] Mr. Thaler, on what new assessments and elements did you base today's statement for the public?

[Thaler] The Foreign Ministry and the government have been monitoring the development of the situation in Croatia all the time and, as the Slovene public already knows from the media, the situation has been deteriorating lately.

The information provided by the our services in charge of this also indicates that we can expect a possible further escalation and widening of clashes. That is what we based our warning upon today, namely, that one can expect the clashes to spread.

[Berne] Can you be more precise in defining the term the endangered areas in the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as used in the statement?

[Thaler] Since those who intend to travel to Croatia or are already there are following the development of the situation there through the media, we chose not to go into detail. However, I can say that we consider those areas as endangered that are still occupied by the Serbs but otherwise form part of Croatia, as well as the areas bordering the so-called Krajina. It is there that we expect that armed clashes might happen and, actually, in some places they are already happening. However, it is difficult to foresee how far this conflict might spread. In May, Zagreb was targeted; primarily, however, there is a possibility that other major Croatian towns might become involved, too. It is also true that Istria and the north Adriatic islands are among the safer areas.

[Berne] What is your concrete advice to Slovene citizens in the areas defined above and to those who plan to travel there?

[Thaler] In today's statement we confined ourselves to urging citizens to exercise caution. That is, to be more careful than usual in planning their itineraries and holiday arrangements, and primarily to work out an alternative route to return in case the situation escalates. We are also taking measures so that the Slovene authorities will be able to assist in such cases.

For the time being, the statement is primarily a call for caution, as we believe that our people are careful anyway, and a sign that we are monitoring the situation and that, when the need arises, we will define the areas that should be evacuated immediately. At the moment this is not necessary. [end recording]

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Federal

Belgrade Tells Zagreb of Concern Over Escalation

LD0308123395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1102 GMT 3 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug. 2 [date as received] (TANJUG)—A chief of the Yugoslav bureau in Zagreb Veljko Knezevic has conveyed to Croatian Deputy Foreign Minister Ivo Sanader the Yugoslav Government's deep concern over the accelerated escalation of tensions and military activities in the area between Croatia, Serb Krajina, and the Bosnian Serb Republic.

In a statement released Wednesday, the bureau quoted Knezevic as informing Sanader that Yugoslavia was [word indistinct] the revival of the negotiating process and fully supported the announced talks between officials of the Croatian and Serb Krajina Governments in Geneva.

Knezevic said that military activities should cease immediately to prevent the spreading of the conflict with unforeseeable consequences and create conditions for solving the crisis through peaceful means.

As regards a Croatian Government statement released Tuesday evening on the talks between Knezevic and Sanader, the bureau pointed at a number of imprecise, even incorrect interpretations of statements Knezevic had made during the talks.

The bureau especially refuted the Croatian ministry's allegation that Knezevic had "admitted for the first time that Serbs are a minority in the Croatian Republic."

Speaking of general Croatian-Krajina Serb relations, Knezevic reaffirmed the Yugoslav side's position that it would respect all that the governments in Knin and Zagreb mutually agree and accept in talks.

Government Concerned Over OIC Statement

LD0308115095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0945 GMT 3 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New York, Aug 3 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government has voiced deep concern over a statement by the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) published in Geneva on July 21. The statement said the Islamic countries no longer considered it their duty to respect the international arms embargo when deliveries to the Bosnian Muslims were concerned.

In a letter to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali on Wednesday, Yugoslav ambassador to the United Nations Dragomir Djokic said that the Islamic ministers had also announced a plan to help strengthen Bosnian Muslims' "defense capacities."

Yugoslavia believes it is necessary that the Security Council take this matter into immediate consideration, the letter said, urging the UN secretary general to raise this issue in contacts with OIC members and ask them to strictly respect the Security Council decision on the embargo.

In September 1991, the UN Security Council imposed an arms embargo on the whole of the former Yugoslavia, but many Islamic countries have never respected the ban and continued to deliver arms and equipment to the forces of the Muslim government in Sarajevo.

Article Views 'Tesla' Particle Accelerator

AU3107081795 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Jul 95 p 11

[Article by Stanko Stojiljkovic: "'Tesla' Is Having a Heart Fitted"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Tesla accelerator in the Vinca Institute for Nuclear Sciences is having a heart fitted. That will take until the end of the year. Recently, they had a huge magnet installed—a special iron part weighing some 240 metric tons and consisting of several specially polished parts that fit together perfectly.

Magnetic plates, a gift from the French Government, came to our country before the punishment. The final construction and installation (the magnet is 5.6 meters long and 2.65 meters high) was performed by the experts of the Lola corporation. According to Velibor Vujovic, the main engineer, they were able to master the special procedure of construction and polishing. [passage omitted]

Once the magnetic unit is completed, the magnetic field has to be examined; the magnetic field in isochronic [izohron], which means that its strength at the center differs from that at the edge. The experts of Vinca and Lola have invented a special machine, a sort of "magnetic meter," with which they are able to measure the field.

That is how what is probably the most important part of the cyclotron will be finished; and the cyclotron itself is the crucial part of the future Tesla particle accelerator, the only facility for the creation, acceleration, and use of ions on the Balkan peninsula. The first ionic rays will be created at the end of next year. [passage omitted]

The Balkan Center

The program for its application encompasses 20 spheres, for example: Analysis and changing of the qualities of

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materials, the production of nuclear filters, medical tests using short-half-life isotopes, and the treatment of the so-called shallow tumors using protons.

"This machine is completely suited to the needs of a smaller, middle-developed country that seeks to cover as many needs as possible," Stevan Koicki, the initiator of the construction of Tesla, pointed out. "That is why it will satisfy certain fields of physics, chemistry, technological development, medical applications, and specific production."

Judging by the interest of the neighboring countries, there is a great chance that Tesla could become an international scientific center. After all, from the very beginning of its construction (work started in 1990, and the construction of the magnetic complex at the end of 1992), scientists from Vinca had the support of the well-known CERN (Center for Nuclear Research) in Geneva, and of colleagues from many countries, which, unfortunately, died out to a great degree because of the punishment of Yugoslavia.

Luckily, in the years of great difficulties, the leading researchers of the renowned United Institute from Dubna (Russia) offered their help. The Serbian Ministry of Science and Technology readily opened their coffers, despite their troubles, to complete of the most significant scientific facility in our country (3,000 square meters in size). [passage omitted]

Serbia

Jovanovic on Belgrade's Ties to Bosnian Serbs

95EN0326D Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 5 Jun 95 pp 139-140

[Unattributed interview with Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic; place and date not given: "Pure Madness"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [DER SPIEGEL] Since the hostage-taking incident, the political leadership in Pale has been declared by the international community to be a terrorist organization, doesn't this bother you in Belgrade?

[Jovanovic] Every military operation that claims innocent victims, also the bombing by NATO, therefore, is an act of terror. I would even consider the sanctions against us to be a form of terror because many people must die because of the lack of medical supplies.

[DER SPIEGEL] Are you really trying to equate the destruction of an ammunition depot by NATO with the hostage-taking of 370 Blue Helmets?

[Jovanovic] Everyone who backs violence in the Bosnia conflict is adding fuel to the fire. But one should also not hide the fact that the United Nations uses a double standard. The ultimatum to turn in heavy weapons applied to Muslims and Serbs. But actions were taken only against the Serbs. This in turn forces the leaders in Pale to resort to such irrational and unacceptable acts as this hostage-taking.

[DER SPIEGEL] While the Muslims defend their land and Bosnia's Serb leader Radovan Karadzic plunges into ever new military ventures, Milosevic is not even making a serious effort to mediate.

[Jovanovic] Our lack of success is the fault of the international community. Pale feels that the cooperative politics of Yugoslavia vis-a-vis the West have produced nothing and that resistance is thus the only way.

[DER SPIEGEL] Has Serbian President Milosevic really had a falling out with his governor, Karadzic, with respect to the future course of action?

[Jovanovic] They have broken off all contact with one another. That is the honest truth.

[DER SPIEGEL] Many feel that this is a tactical maneuver.

[Jovanovic] That is not true. We have sharply criticized the occupation of 70 percent of the territory by the Serbs and have accepted the plan of the Contact Group, which promises the Serbs in Bosnia 40 percent. The Serbs are neither militarily nor politically capable of holding the territory they currently occupy there, nor do they have a moral right to do so. That is pure madness.

[DER SPIEGEL] Who is the bigger firebrand: Karadzic or General Mladic?

[Jovanovic] The hard line is dictated by the political leadership. Mladic is stubborn, to be sure, but he is a capable general. But he was brought up in Tito's schools, and there he learned to obey political authority. He has no desire to lock horns with Karadzic.

[DER SPIEGEL] Why do the Bosnian Serbs so categorically reject the plan of the Contact Group and show no willingness to accept any sort of compromise?

[Jovanovic] They are afraid of losing their power. They are afraid that, on the day after signing the plan, NATO will demand that they immediately vacate the territory that is to be returned. But that would create chaos among the populace and trigger a revolt against the political leaders. After all, the leaders in Pale have always assured their population that the conquered land was Serbian land.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you share this fear that Karadzic has?

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[Jovanovic] We have been assured by the Contact Group that the Serbs will not have to withdraw from these areas until talks with the Muslims on the exchange of a number of territories have been concluded. The leaders in Pale would therefore have quite enough time to prepare the population for the changes.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you plan, nevertheless, to just stand by and watch how Karadzic escalates the conflict with his brutal actions?

[Jovanovic] I preach to them constantly: As individuals, you can suffer from paranoia or destroy your families, if you wish, but you have no right to destroy an entire people.

[DER SPIEGEL] However, in the event of a military widening of the conflict, instead of opposing Karadzic, would you not once again come to the aid of your beleaguered compatriots?

[Jovanovic] If an intervention from abroad were to cause the massive destruction or expulsion of the Serbs, then we would no longer be able to put the brakes on the solidarity of the populace with their brothers. Any government that would refuse to come to their defense would fall.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you think that a mutual coexistence by Muslims, Croats, and Serbs would still be possible in Bosnia, as Bosnia's President Izetbegovic wants?

[Jovanovic] Surely not for the next several years. Like the sons of feuding families, one must keep the ethnic groups apart for a while, until they have calmed down, in different apartments, but in the same house.

[DER SPIEGEL] You could conceive of a multicultural Bosnia? But in that case why do you wait so long with the international recognition of Bosnia?

[Jovanovic] We demand, in return, that the leaders in Sarajevo and the West recognize us as the legitimate successor to the former Yugoslavia, and not as just another new state. Both Izetbegovic and the West have thus far refused to do this. In addition, we demand the complete lifting of the sanctions. And of course the position of the Bosnian Serbs should be clarified.

[DER SPIEGEL] But in that case Karadzic has you in his power after all. As long as he refuses to offer a solution, there will also be no recognition by you.

[Jovanovic] Then let me formulate it this way: We would welcome it if a solution for the Serbian people in Bosnia could be found first. But we will also not permit a lunatic to hinder an intelligent person from putting his international relations in order.

Weekly: NATO Preparing Assault on Serbs

LD0208142695 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1250 GMT 2 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 2 Aug (SRNA)—NATO is planning to crush the Serb Republic Army in an operation using 100,000 soldiers, 300 aircraft, and several hundred helicopters, the Belgrade TELEGRAF weekly says today.

The paper's sources, which are close to Yugoslav intelligence sources, say that military experts of the United States, Great Britain, and France—at a meeting in London last week—adopted a plan code-named Adriatic Leap, which envisages long and intensive air strikes against vital targets in the Serb Republic, but also massive attacks by NATO airborne units and infantry forces.

Western experts have planned to crush the Serb Army by the Adriatic Leap operation, by which the Serb Republic would be "driven into" the confederal Bosnia-Herzegovina, while the Serb Krajina would be "returned" to Croatia, which would finally bring an end to the war on the territory of former Yugoslavia.

The plan sets out that, in phase one of the operation NATO, aircraft would launch long-lasting, large-scale air strikes against positions and vital targets of the Serb Republic Army, which would prepare the ground for NATO airborne and land units tasked with overrunning strategically important points from several directions and thus paralyzing Serb Republic Army forces.

NATO airborne units, with close air support from the U.S. Air Force, would make a helicopter dissent in the regions of Gorazde, Tuzla, Srebrenica, Zvornik, Glamocko Polje, and Sarajevo.

According to the masterminds of this operation, the commander in chief of the Adriatic Leap would be NATO Secretary General Willy Claes, while responsibility for its implementation on the ground would be borne by the UN Protection Forceand NATO commanders in the areas of assault.

TELEGRAF says that Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Russian Foreign Affairs Minister Andrey Kozyrev have been informed about the Adriatic Leap plan and that they have accepted it.

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NATO Accused of Arming Croats, Muslims

95BA0286G Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Apr 95 p 23

[Article by Predrag Pejcic: "European Security Out of Step"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Organization for European Security and Cooperation (OESC) (previously the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE]) adopted a document in 1992 on negotiations and measures to strengthen trust and security. Representatives of the former Yugoslavia took part in the preparation of that document at the conference of the CSCE in Vienna in 1992, because the negotiations were conducted from 9 March 1989 to 4 March 1992. It was a very long document based on the Declaration of Restraint From Threat of Force or Use of Force and on the Paris Charter for a New Europe, dating from 1990.

Annual Exchange of Military Data

When they signed the documents, member states committed themselves to exchange data every year on military forces, that is, on their military organization, strength, and main system of weapons and equipment. This means that they are required to provide data on the military command structure and the total number of units, beginning with the level of the brigade, i.e., regiment, and then the principal data on weapons and equipment that units have, on permanent peacetime locations, and so forth.

It was agreed at the meeting of the OESC that the figures on the principal systems of weapons and military equipment would be furnished by all participating states no later than 15 December 1992, and that the participating states would exchange data every year on plans for introducing new weapons and military equipment. As part of the annual exchange of military data, the states were also required to supply reports on military budgets on the basis of the Instrument for Standardization of International Reports on Military Expenditures.

Visits to Air Bases

Measures have also been taken to reduce risks, such as the mechanism for consultation and cooperation related to conducting customary military activities and cooperation in connection with dangerous incidents of a military nature, and above all voluntary acceptance of visits to allay concern aroused by the conduct of military activities.

As part of the contact between armies, visits were arranged to air bases, or to one of the bases, in which the visitors from the other member state could gain an insight into the work of that air base, its infrastructure, the number of aircraft takeoffs, and so on. Plans also called for those visits to last 24 hours, and during that time the visitors would be informed about the purpose, function, and work of units at that air base, and also about the work of support units, and, if possible, examination of all types of aircraft at the base.

Another part of the military contact was organizing exchanges and visits of representatives of military institutions, contacts of scientists and experts in the field of military studies, and even the holding of athletic and cultural events for members of their armed forces, which seems like an anachronism in view of the real purpose of adopting a document of that kind.

The idea was the possibility of obtaining military data of the member states of that body that are not part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (former members of the Warsaw Pact).

The Croats Are Concealing the Real Facts

On 1 February of this year, the Institute for Strategic Studies published data on the military capacities of the Republic of Croatia. According to them, the Croatian Army has 105,000 men, 270 tanks, 1,300 artillery and rocket weapons, 600 air defense weapons, 42 MiG aircraft, and one Frog ballistic missile unit.

Gojko Susak, defense minister of the Republic of Croatia, has announced, according to the daily media, that the military potential of the Croatian Army is far greater than reported to European institutions for conventional arms control. It is well known that just the other day there was a compulsory mobilization of conscripts in Croatia and that draft notices were sent out to Croats outside the homeland "all over the world." The Republic of Croatia thereby violated Security Council Resolution No. 713, dated 25 September 1991, one of some 60 pertaining to the former Yugoslavia.

A datum on the still unsigned decision of U.S. President Bill Clinton to send 40,000 of his Marines to Croatia, in addition to establishing the CIA base on the island of Krk and installation of equipment for electronic surveillance of activities in the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] and also the territory of the RSK [Republic of Serbian Krajina] and RS [Serb Republic], indicates a strengthening of the forces of the Croatian Army, along with the decision already in effect concerning continuous aircraft flights of AWACS planes or NATO planes supposedly on a mission of the UN peacekeeping forces. It is well known that those planes have used airports at Zagreb, Ljubljana, Split, and Tuzla to arm Croatian and Muslim forces in Bosnia. The London INDEPENDENT wrote most precisely about this on 26

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February of this year, presenting the precise data of UN observers that NATO airplanes, carrying no national insignia, most probably with Turkish crews, supplied the Muslim army on flights made on 10, 12, 16, 17, and 23 February, and forces of the Croatian Defense Council with still unidentified flights, as well as Croatian regular units that are on the territory of the Republic of Croatia and the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

All of this confirms that one of the vital documents of the OESC, the document on negotiations and measures to strengthen trust and security, as well as others that will be adopted, are an anachronism in light of military practice in the Balkans.

Ties Between 'His' SPS, 'Her' JUL Viewed

AU0308100495 Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 31 Jul 95 pp 20-21

[Commentary by Nenad Lj. Stefanovic: "Family Workshop"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] At Tolstojeva 33, where for years Serbian politics has been created and molded, the "high master" and the "mistress" recently celebrated. His Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] marked its first big jubilee, five years since the night when the Serbian Communists in Belgrade Sava Center ceded power to the Serbian Socialists, that is, to themselves. Her JUL (the Yugoslav United Left) celebrated the first anniversary of its existence with a stark ambition to stay around for a long time, that is, until "poverty and inequality have disappeared" from society, as one of the JUL leaders recently explained.

Disregarding the ceremonial session at the municipal level and numerous appropriate statements given to TANJUG to mark the fifth anniversary, Milosevic's Socialists celebrated their jubilee rather modestly and quietly. [passage omitted]

Mirjana Markovic's JUL was incomparably louder in marking its first anniversary. At a recently held international conference entitled "Balkans—European Region of Stability and Cooperation" with their speeches and the team that they presented they completely overshadowed the Socialists. They then marked the anniversary and the formation of the JUL's Belgrade committee in the Sava Center in a outstandingly solemn way, with anthems, choirs, program speeches, and so forth. Simultaneously, the whole of Belgrade was plastered over with posters that not only drew attention to the fact that the JUL has been present on the Serbian political scene for a year but also gave a taste of the election atmosphere, which is the time when poster wars usually flare up. [passage omitted]

The party jubilees and the increasingly blatant pushing and promotion of the JUL on the programs of Radio and Television Serbia and TV Politika, which is disproportionate to the attention usually bestowed on the nonparliamentary political parties and associations, fueled various debates as to whether there was any actual difference between the JUL and the SPS. Their political adversaries usually claim that the only actual differences, are those in the program. One could even say that over the past few months most of the opposition parties have been preoccupied incomparably more with the JUL than with the ruling party, that is, with the announcements of the "mistress" rather than with whatever the "master" was doing. [passage omitted]

The mere emergence of the JUL on the Serbian political scene is in some circles interpreted as SPS's attempt to safeguard its flanks and through the JUL prevent the development of a truly social democratic party in the long run. On the other hand, there are interpretations that the JUL is actually preparing for the future when the people "fed up with the mafia-style capitalism," which has been blossoming over the past few years, should be offered something more than an uncontrolled left-wing radicalism that could emerge in response to such a situation. One of the assessments that can also be heard is that the emergence of JUL should be interpreted as a perfectly natural process of differentiation of the ruling elite to the national socialists and the communists.

Programs

In the absence of serious, investigative attempts to discover and explain the differences (nuances) between the SPS and the JUL, we have no choice other than to compare their basic political stances. As has recently been reported, the JUL is working intensely on the formulation of its program. The Socialists have had a distinctly left slant in their program for a long time, however, some analysts point out that the consequences and the effects of their actions are often a far cry from what is usually considered "left." There has long been this joke about the Socialists (its authors are evidently from the JUL) that they would never, not even under the worst prison torture, admit what their party program is. Not so much out of spite or bravery, but simply because they do not know what it is. For years their program has been reduced to the safeguarding of power and repetition of phrases previously uttered by Slobodan Milosevic, for example: "Serbia is not at war," and "Peace has no alternative." In the past few weeks numerous prominent SPS and JUL members tried to define more precisely the positions of the organizations that they head. Their definitions were very similar; they both declared themselves to be "the modern left." For

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example, Slobodan Jovanovic, president of the SPS municipal committee, says that this party "is a party of social justice and solidarity, national equality, and protection of legitimate national interests, by taking into account the same such interests of other nations," adding that, as "the modern left," the SPS also adhered to two civilizing ideas: The market economy and parliamentary democracy. Milorad Vucelic, chief of the SPS bench in the Serbian Assembly, claims that the SPS is a "modern, left-oriented political" party, but without an ideological slant.

The JUL emphasizes as a precept that it belongs to the modern left. JUL's president, theater director Ljubisa Ristic, sees the organization that he heads as "a movement of FRY citizens oriented toward peace and the Yugoslav way of life." Ristic does not see a way to keep the country together in ideology and war but, as he says, in work, beauty, a hot July, beautiful girls, and again, in the Yugoslav style of life. Slobodan Cerovic, the first man of JUL's Belgrade committee, claims that all members of this political association "favor immediate and unconditional peace, the functioning of a law-governed state, and suppression of crime, and also support the program of the National Bank Governor Dragoslav Avramovic, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, and the government of Prime Minister Mirko Marjanovic." The JUL directorate member Mustafa Dzigal adds to all this "championing of the preservation of public property in the strategic economic branches" while another directorate member Nebojsa Maljkovic explains JUL's program platform as an attempt "to unite everything that is progressive, left-oriented, and within the color spectrum of a rainbow, from green to red." The only one who, in his attempt to define the positions on the left, launched into an explicit and, it seems, not exactly desired comparison between the JUL and the SPS was Zoran Cicak, a recently ousted member of the JUL directorate. "As opposed to the SPS, we consider ourselves to be more of a left-wing party. Although we acknowledge the pluralism of ownership and advocate it, we have determined ourselves as more of a left-wing party in the realm of social policy and social solidarity. Also, we escaped the civic party trap into which the SPS fell in its attempt to pool on the national basis," Cicak explains. [passage omitted]

A great similarity between the SPS and the JUL is also evident in the political sphere, where any possible differences are mostly reflected in nuances. On all currently important political issues such as the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the mutual recognition of the former Yugoslav republics, the Contact Group plan, the attitude toward the Serbs on the other side of the Drina, Karadzic, Seselj, the leaderships of the JUL and the SPS think, or at least say, the same things. Something similar could be concluded from a recent statement by Ljubisa Ristic that the forces of peace triumphed in the SPS and that they are welcome in the Yugoslav Left. A certain mistrust toward the JUL was evident in the SPS ranks at the time of JUL's formation. These differences were subsequently gradually buried or at least they are not insisted upon excessively. [passage omitted]

Faced with the two possible directions in relations between the SPS and the JUL that were mentioned at the time of the emergence of the Yugoslav Left, either a more distinct separation between these two leftist political groups or their unification, the impression is that they have turned decisively toward the second option over the past few weeks. The voices in both parties that identified "power-brokers and warmongers" on the other side (JUL) or wondered publicly why the ruling party with such a solid parliamentary majority would descend to a level of a nonparliamentary and, thus, minor JUL, have fallen silent. Instead, statements about special mutual recognition, inevitable cooperation, natural alliance, and also "expansion of the coalition chain to the left, be it during the elections or after the parliamentary elections" (Dr. Ljubisa Mitrovic), are becoming more and more frequent.

Chasing the Sun

Naturally, all this does not mean that sparks sometimes do not fly between the representatives of the ruling party and the increasingly ambitious JUL members. Such sparks mostly fly due to the internal realignment within the SPS rather than serious ideological differences. Sometimes the reason for all the disputes is a growing political power (still unconfirmed by the elections) that the JUL is attaining through its powerful people, which bothers the ruling Socialists.

The most open "conflict on the left" seems to be currently under way in Novi Pazar, where the local JUL leadership openly speaks against the local SPS. "Here, apart from the Muslim and the Serbian nationalist right, which are partners regardless of how absurd this sounds, we also oppose the local SPS leadership for everything that it did and continues to do," until recently one of the JUL officials in this town has stated lately. A less noticeable rivalry for a dominant position between SPS and the JUL supporters is, according to some reporters, under way in the editorial board of BORBA. Judging by the influence and the positions that the JUL members currently have in the editorial board, the paper's nickname "Brcinka" is no longer topical as until recently the first man of BORBA Dragutin Brcin (member of the SPS executive committee) currently as

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the director of this house has less influence than the editors who managed to climb to the top of the JUL.

As opposed to the majority of the opposition leaders and numerous analysts who persistently claim that by championing the JUL Milosevic wishes the strengthen his own positions, political analyst Dr. Slobodan Antonic believes that the first man of the SPS has started "losing it" a bit. IThe SPS is a powerful and well-organized political party that manages to run a complex state machinery with little effort. Instead of preserving and nourishing such a party, another state party is being created in the absence of any evident need for it, which not only confuses our television viewers, who are in the future expected to vote obediently, but also brings confusion and duality among the political and the business elite. Since with the JUL he cannot gain anything that he does not already have with the SPS, Milosevic is actually only complicating his life unnecessarily, turning political capital into a credit, so to speak," Dr. Antonic says. [passage omitted]

SDA Denies Replacement of Secretary General

AU3107130695 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jul 95 p 4

[Statement by the information service of the Party of Democratic Action: "Ljajic Continues To Be Secretary General"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—The Party of Democratic Action [SDA] of Sandzak is functioning normally and its secretary general, Rasim Ljajic, is in Vienna at a UN-organized conference at which the status of the Muslim-Bosniak people in the Federal Republic Yugoslavia will be discussed, a statement released by the information service of this party stated yesterday. With the statement, signed by Ahmet Kurbasevic, the SDA denied a statement by Smajo Polimac and Zevdzo Huric, presidents of the municipal committees of Priboj and Prijepolje, published in NASA BORBA on 25 July this year, about the replacement of Secretary General Rasim Ljajic and the formation of a parallel committee in Novi Pazar. The SDA main committee distances itself from all disinformation that is aimed at confusing the Muslim-Bosniak people in Sandzak and maintains that they originate from "a distinct group of people gathered around the so-called coordinating body (which is not statutory) with the goal of promoting the extremist policy of Sulejman Ugljanin who is in exile."

Montenegro

Interior Minister on Police Work, Ties With Army

AU3107134695 Podgorica POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Jul 95 pp 4-5

[Interview with Internal Affairs Minister Filip Vujanovic by Vladan Micunovic; place and date not given: "There Are No Sensations—The Situation Is Normal"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Podgorica, 20 Jul—Starting off from all relevant facts determining the security situation in the Montenegro region, I can readily make the assessment that the current security situation is relatively favorable and stable. The relativity of such an evaluation is based upon the existing security risks and problems: the situation in the areas surrounding the republic, certain negative processes on the economic plane, individual excesses, and the like, said Filip Vujanovic, Montenegrin minister of internal affairs, in an interview for our paper, in fact the first newspaper interview he has given after his "transfer" from the post of the minister of justice to the post of the head of the Montenegrin police.

Further on in his answer to the first question concerning the current security situation in Montenegro, Vujanovic said the following:

"Despite many significant problems on the Republican borders and some internal security controversies, peace has been preserved, our greatest capital and the preservation of which is our permanent and most important obligation.

"One should also stress that there have been no serious interethnic nor interreligious conflicts in our republic, which is in the spirit of the constitutional concept of a civic state which ensures the equality of everybody regardless of their particularities. It is perfectly certain that nobody in Montenegro is exposed to threats or denial, and it is also certain that the state does not tolerate, but punishes individual violations of civil equalities.

"However, such a security situation requires full mobility and engagement of the members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MUP] of the Republic of Montenegro, their high professional level in performing tasks, and active cooperation with other respective state bodies. Here we expect full cooperation on the part of the citizens of Montenegro who have thus far also participated in ensuring civic peace and tolerance on the republican territory."

[Micunovic] You have assumed this post in the wake of very tempestuous events among the top leadership

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of the Montenegrin police which also coincided with the Ljesane event. Have the spirits in the MUP calmed down?

[Vujanovic] Personnel reshuffles in general, and in leaderships in all spheres of social life are inevitable, so in that respect, the police are no exception.

Feelings running high in the Montenegrin MUP were noticed only by people seeking affairs and not knowing anything about the situation in the MUP and the professional attitude of the MUP workers toward their obligations. [passage omitted]

[Micunovic] What is your view on the proposal for parliamentary control over the State Security Service?

[Vujanovic] In my opinion, parliamentary control over the State Security Service does not correspond to the principle of division of power according to which, in our republic, the functioning of three authorities (legislative, executive, and judiciary) is based on the Constitution.

It is unacceptable that, contrary to this principle of executive power being controlled by legislative power, the Assembly controls not a ministry, but a service of a ministry. [passage omitted]

[Micunovic] It is frequently remarked that the police are in the service of the ruling party, so there are demands for its depoliticization. How do you assess the situation in the Montenegrin MUP in that context?

[Vujanovic] The depoliticizing of MUP members has been mentioned many times and was an inevitable propaganda strategy of certain Montenegrin political parties. Remarks that the police serve the ruling party, above all, have political implications set by those political forces that express them. What are forgotten here are the MUP's significant political role and tasks, principles, and legality, professional attitude of its members.... I cannot imagine the possibility of an MUP member not performing a given task because of certain subjective reasons, where I include political affiliation as well. I must say that in their letters to me, that is to the MUP, citizens do not at all mention political affiliation as a reason for possible "conflict" with MUP members. Of course, successful functioning of this ministry, just as, after all, other ministries and state bodies, is in the interest of the ruling party, as is the case in other countries. [passage omitted]

[Box, p 4]

Wages

[Micunovic] What were the wages of, let us say, a policeman in the street or inspector last month?

[Vujanovic] In June, a policeman received 408 dinars and an inspector 444.70 dinars, which clearly shows that MUP employees share the fate of all civil servants, in fact, of everybody financed from the budget.

[Box, p 5]

Improving Cooperation

[Micunovic] What is the cooperation like with the MUP of Serbia and the Federal MUP, and are there in this triangle any legal or other difficulties that may influence the quality or efficiency of your work?

[Vujanovic] As a Montenegrin minister of justice, I had excellent cooperation with the Federal Justice Ministry and the Justice Ministry of Serbia. I also expect such a cooperation with the Federal MUP and the MUP of the Republic of Serbia, as cooperation shows itself to be increasingly justified every day, and the specific security problems on the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] require not only cooperation, but also joint work by all three ministries, starting from the inevitable maxim that security is an indivisible and permanent category in every state, including ours. The MUP of Montenegro itself will do everything with a view to wholeheartedly contributing to and developing all aspects of cooperation and joint work with the Federal MUP and the Serbian MUP, as such activities serve the security and peace on the territory of the FRY.

[Box, p 5]

There Are No Problems With the Army

[Micunovic] It is known that there is a very strong sector of the Yugoslav Army doing work very similar to yours. What are the relations between members of the Montenegrin MUP and military security organs?

[Vujanovic] Relations between MUP members and the security bodies of the Yugoslav Army are characterized by full cooperation based on duties of the MUP and the Yugoslav Army established by law and on consistent implementation of the principle of professional performance of security duties. One does not have to insist on cooperation being necessary and useful and on it contributing to the development and strengthening of our country's overall security, as well as on the fact that its lacking would cause general damage.

Opposition Condemns Milosevic Letter to Mladic

LD0208165695 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1250 GMT 2 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Podgorica, 2 Aug (SRNA-FONET)—Drago Bakrac, chairman of the Serb Radical Party of Montenegro Executive Committee, said today

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that the latest Croatian offensive against the Bosnian Serb Republic and the 20,000 refugees from Glamoc and Grahovo who, as he said, "have not even been noticed by the international community" are proof of "the international community's double standards," MONTENA FAX reports.

"What is even more surprising is the fact that the regimes of Slobodan Milosevic and Momir Bulatovic support such an attitude from the international community toward our country and our people, i.e., they masochistically accept such humiliation," Bakrac said at a news conference in Podgorica.

He said the letter sent by Milosevic to Gen. Mladic "amounts to Milosevic's failure to recognize the legal leadership of the Bosnian Serb Republic" thus, he added, "denying the people across the river Drina an attribute which they cannot give up if they want to survive."

Kosovo

Serb Mayor Vows To Change Ethnic Composition

AU0208202295 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 31 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pristina, 31 Jul—Around 400 Serb colonizers were housed last Friday [28 July] at a newly erected settlement at Velikareka village of Vushtrri [Vucitrn]. The Serbian press reported Saturday that Serb colonizers were accomodated in 76 homes and they will all be given jobs at the plants of the Mitrovica-based Trepca company. In addition, most of Serb families will be allocated plots of fertile land and other benefactions.

Speaking on the solemn inauguration of the settlement, the Prishtina-based Serbian daily JEDINSTVO quoted the Serbian-installed mayor of Vushtrri, Branko Stolic, as saying that further efforts have to be made towards changing the ethnic composition of Kosovo and that "the trunk of Serbian roots in Kosovo is getting stronger and stronger." In a bid to change the ethnic composition of Kosovo, where Albanians make up 90 percent of its population, the Serbian regime has over the past couple of years been widely involved in erecting kibbutz-like settlements for Serb colonizers as well as providing them with apartments, commonly seized from Albanians. Several settlement have been either ready or their construction works are underway in many places throughout Kosovo.

The Government of the self-styled Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) adopted earlier this year a governmental program envisaging to bring to Kosovo as many as 100,000 Serb colonizers from Serbia and other territories of former Yugoslavia. In the meantime, the Serbian mass media and leaders of nationalist parties have been urging for bringing to Kosovo additional hundreds of thousands Serbs calling at the same time overtly for the expulsion of Albanians from Kosovo.

Serb 'Provokers' Shout at Rugova's Residence

AU2907201695

[FBIS Editorial Report] Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English No 668 and 669 on 27 and 28 July and Tirana TVSh Television Network in Albanian at 1635 GMT on 29 July carry several reports on Serbian police "repression" and raids on Albanian homes in the province.

On the occasion of the first anniversary of the shooting of a six-year-old Albanian child from Pristina by a Serbian policeman, KOSOVA DAILY REPORT on 27 July notes that although the "perpetrator of the crime" was "held for some time in detention," he was later "released" and "got promoted" at the Serbian Police Department in Kacanik. It is also reported that in November 1994, the same Serb policeman arrested another Albanian in Kacanik, who died of "police tortures" a few hours later. Sources note that the "Serbian-run judicial authorities have protracted the proceedings" in connection with the boy's killing. At a court hearing on 11 July, the perpetrator "was not accused of killing," but was charged with the "criminal offense of causing danger to the public." The next hearing is expected to be held on 10 August.

Another report notes that "the Serbian installed authorities" in Kosovo continue to "plunder" its economy. During this year, the Serbian regime "plundered or sold" the textile factory in Skenderaj and leased a textile workshop in Prilluzh "free of charge" to a Serb national. In July alone, "the Serb installed management" in Polet Textile Enterprise has "leased" 23 sewing machines to Yumco Textile Factory in Vranje in Serbia. Sources note that while the machines have been leased, the Albanian workers in this factory have been "dismissed" as "redundant work force."

A report published in the BUJKU newspaper on 27 July says that "even the nonpolitical trials against Albanians in Klina have a political background in the wake of the Serbian regime's crackdown against the local Albanian population." Based on information received from the Serb-run Municipal Court in Klina, the report notes that between January and June, "there had been 150 cases of criminal charges instituted against Albanians." Eight persons who "had to appear" in front of this court received "prison sentences," five for possessing arms and three others for possessing "mobile telephones," while Serb inhabitants have the right to "possess" mobile telephones and "even weapons." The report notes that

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the Serbs have been "secretly or even publicly heavily armed" over the last four years, while the Albanian population "is being constantly shadowed under the pretext of alleged possession of arms."

It is also reported that an Albanian priest from this district is "to face penal charges" at the Serb-run court for possessing a mobile telephone. Over this period, the Serb judges have sentenced 14 Albanians to prison terms ranging from six months to two years. The report concludes, stating that by "qualifying" the Klina district as "another nest of Albanian separatism," the Serbian "rule of law" is "bringing Albanians to trial almost on a daily basis."

It is also reported that the Serbian police on 25 July detained an Albanian youth in Prizren and took him to the police station, where he was "beaten up severely" and "tortured for five hours in a row." It is reported that the Albanian was later "released," but he was taken to the surgery ward of the Prizren City Hospital due to "injuries" that "he suffered from police torture." His health condition is reported to be "very bad."

Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK) sources in Obilic report that "a dozen Serbian police" on 26 July raided the home of an Albanian in Plemetin village and arrested an Albanian youngster. His family members confirm that they know "nothing about his fate," but they "suspect that their son has been forcefully drafted into the Serbian Army."

Citing Serbian press, the KOSOVA DAILY REPORT on 28 July says that the Prizren-based Famipa Enterprise, with a work force of 500, has been "vigorously resisting forceful integration with Mitrovica-based Trepa Mineral Plant, launched by the latter." The report notes that both enterprises are "under Serb control." It is reported that "the integration, a common practice in the past few years of merging Kosovo firms with Serbian ones in the wake of Serbian occupation of Kosovo, has been politically motivated and has brought about a virtual standstill of the public economy." The integration has served as a "scheme designed to plunder Kosovo economy." All Serbs, either from Serbia or local ones in Kosovo, "greeted the move with patriotic fervor," arguing that "the Kosovo economy was snatched from Albanian separatists' hand." The report notes that "in the past five years, most of the Albanian staff has been kicked out from jobs in the public sector in Kosovo," viewing it as "an unprecedented ethnic cleansing move." The economic firms in Kosovo, which are "under effective control by the Serb authorities" and "have somehow retained any economic viability," have now "stood up in protest against the venal behavior of the Serbian regime's proxies in Kosovo," not on political, but on "economic grounds." The Trepa Mineral Plant's "so-called board of shareholders" decided in early July to "merge" the Prizren-based Famipa firm, appointing a Serb as the new managing director. Meanwhile, the Serbian local authorities in Prizren have "denounced the integration move," fearing "the loss of Famipa's identity as a separate economic firm would damage their interests."

Another report on 28 July says that "the Serbian-run municipal authorities" in Obilic have been "conditioning" the issuing of personal documents, such as entry in the birth registers, marriages, and deaths to Albanians with "their entry in the voting lists." LDK sources in Obilic say that "all Albanians older than 15 are thus being blackmailed," adding that the Serbian regime "has been garnering a lot of money in Kosovo" by "charging considerable prices for the issue of the most elementary documents, such as birth or marriage certificates."

It is reported that "heavy Serbian police forces" and the "so-called Serbian fiscal police" officers on 27 July raided the Malisevo market and its surrounding shops. Sources in Malisevo say that the Serb policemen "intimidated and plundered dozens of merchants, customers, and passers-by." The police seized respectively 1,500 German marks (DM) from an Albanian in Ponarc village and DM500 from another. The same sources confirm that "many other persons had their hard currency and merchandise confiscated by the police." The Malisevo-based LDK Information Commission says that "the amounts of the hard currency and goods seized by the police in yesterday's raid were estimated to be over DM30,000." The Commission says that "over the past two years, the Serbian police has been routinely raiding on the Malisheva (Malisevo) marketplace almost every Thursday (marked day in the town), plundering, intimidating, and harassing a great number of merchants and citizens of this overwhelmingly Albanian populated municipality."

Sources in Glogovac say that the Serbian police on 25 July raided the home of an Albanian at Gllanaselle village, who is living abroad. As the Albanian "failed to report" to the police station, the report says that "over 15 Serb policemen" raided his home again on 26 July "demolishing home furniture and intimidating family members." After the raid, his brother was arrested and reportedly subject to "severe maltreatment."

The Serbian police on 26 July raided the home of another Albanian from Zabel village and "beat up brutally" his son and "insulted" his wife. Sources in Glogovac say that his house was raided again on the morning of 27 July.

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The Serbian police on 26 July raided the home of an Albanian from Istok. Over the past week, the Serbian police inspectors interrogated the chairman of the LDK branch at Krnine village "half a dozen times." The LDK Information Commission in Malisevo reports that "between 18-21 July, the Serbian police expeditions raided on 14 Albanian homes at Ponarc village. Dozens of residents were reported ill-treated in connection with arms possession." The Serbian police interrogated an Albanian National Democratic Party activist for "four days in a row" between 18-21 July and raided his home as well.

Citing the Kosovo Information Center, Tirana TVSh Television on 29 July reports that the Serbian police on 29 July arrested the chairman of the health trade union branch in Kosovo and a doctor in the street "shortly after" leaving the hall where the sixth assembly of the Independent Trade Unions of Kosovo held its proceedings. The television reports that "they were both sent to the police station in Dardania" in Pristina and that "the pretext for their arrest remains unknown."

Another telephone report by television correspondent Mehmet Haziri from Pristina says that "the situation in Kosovo is continuously becoming tense due to Serbian provocations, which have not ceased even after the farce of the Serbian chairman Milosevic in Mitrovice [Mitrovica] last week, where alongside threats against Albanians, he attempted to give any peaceful signal."

Commenting on the situation, the report notes that "the recent moves by the Serbian state and military authorities in Kosovo and the establishment of 400 new Serb colonists in the building complex in Velika Reka in Vushtrri [Vucitrn] on 28 July reveal, in the most illustrative way, the Belgrade regime aims of constantly seeking to keep Kosovo under a state of siege."

Citing the Kosovo Information Center, correspondent Haziri says that "during the day, groups of Serbs, mostly young, paraded several times in front of the building of the Kosovo Writers Association, where Chairman Rugova has his residence, shouting threatening and insulting slogans." The report says that "these groups of Serbs shouted anti-Albanian slogans and sang anti-Albanian songs, while their open and noisy provocations were escorted by the police from a nearby building." The report says that "the provokers left at about 1400."

Serbs Continue To Arrest Ethnic Albanians

AU0208201295 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 31 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pristina, 31 Jul—Bajram Zeqiri from Llabjan village was reported arrested by the Serbian police on 24 June and subjected to sever ill-treatment in connection with alleged arms possession. In Klina on 20 July, the Serbian police arrested Ramadan Raci at his home at Siqeva village. Mr. Raci was held in custody for two days. LDK [Democratic League of Kosovo] sources in Klina reported that Mr. Raci was subjected to severe maltreatment while in custody. Serbian police authorities have not issued any explanation as to his detention.

In Mitrovica on 27 July, a Serbian police patrol searched for arms in homes of Adem Shala and Abedin Shala at Vidishiq village. No arms were reported found, yet both of them were ordered to report at the police station in Mitrovica on 31 July. In Ferizaj, Shefki Murati from Ferizaj was reported arrested by the Serbian police on 20 July and subjected to severe beatings in connection with alleged arms possession. When released he was ordered to report again at the police station and hand over a revolver he was allegedly in possession of. On 24 July, the Serbian police detained and ill-treated Abdullah Kraniqi from Koshare village. He was ordered to report again at the police station and deliver a revolver he was allegedly in possession of. Tasim Hasani, an LDK activist from Ferizaj was ordered by the Serbian police to report at the police station on 28 July. He was reportedly interrogated about his activities with the LDK.

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